

# HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WEST





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HISTORY  
OF  
THE NORTH-WEST.

BY  
ALEXANDER BEGG,

AUTHOR OF "DOT IT DOWN," "THE CREATION OF MANITOBA," "THE GREAT  
CANADIAN NORTH-WEST," ETC., ETC., ETC.

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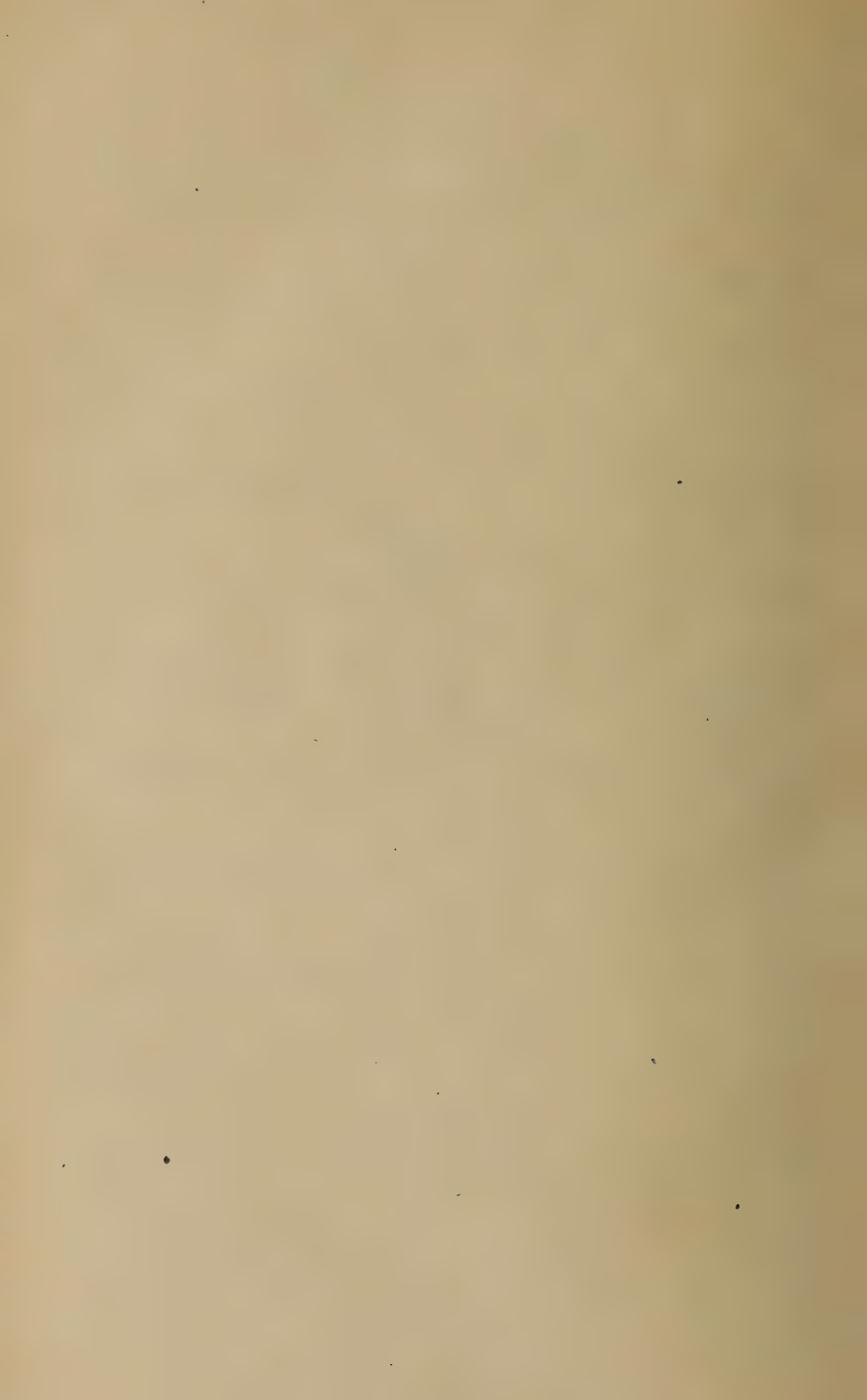
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# HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WEST.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY AND ITS OPPONENTS.

As will be seen by reference to the charter of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, to be found in the appendix, the names of men prominently connected with the success of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, are among the signers. Two names only are not to be found there, those of Hon. Donald A. Smith, and Mr. Norman W. Kittson. The former, although his name does not appear in the charter, was from the first one of the chief moving spirits in the patriotic effort to give Canada a national highway across the continent, but the latter, being well up in years, declined to take part in the Canadian road.

The presentation of the contract to Parliament by Sir Charles Tupper, on the 10th December, 1880, was the signal for an immediate and most determined opposition on the part of the opponents of the Government. Not content with condemning the project in the Commons, a systematic campaign was carried on against it throughout the country. Numerous petitions flowed into the House from all parts of the country, some in favor of the contract, but most of them against it. Step by step did the Opposition members fight the measure,

and instead of uniting with the Government for the purpose of obtaining the best bargain possible from the syndicate of capitalists who offered to build the road, they endeavored to kill the scheme altogether. Although both Mr. Mackenzie and Sir John A. Macdonald had been unsuccessful in securing capitalists to undertake the work, no sooner did Mr. George Stephen and his colleagues appear with their offer than overtures were received by the Government from other parties to build the road for less money and on terms more favorable to the country.

These offers were not generally regarded as genuine, but made for the purpose of giving the Opposition a political weapon with which to fight the Government. During the Christmas recess, a determined attempt was made to raise the people against the Syndicate bargain, in the hope that it would result in the Governor-General insisting upon a dissolution and an appeal to the country on the subject. Had the attempt succeeded, it would have meant an abandonment of the contract, as Mr. George Stephen and his colleagues would never have consented to such a tedious ratification of the bargain. Fortunately, however, the people did not respond as the Opposition hoped they would, and the agitation against the charter assumed a purely partizan character.

A systematic course of obstruction was then commenced in the Commons, and consistently carried out. The Government, however, ably defended their scheme and shewed very plainly the necessity for building the road right through from ocean to ocean. In this connection it may be well to quote the words of that eminent American statesman, Hon Mr. Seward, in relation to the importance of a transcontinental railway through Canadian territory, Mr. Seward spoke as follows:—

The route through British America is in some respects preferable to that through our own territory. By the former, the distance from Europe to Asia is some thousand miles shorter than by the latter. Passing close to Lake Superior, traversing the water-shed which divides the streams flowing towards the Arctic Sea from those which have their exit southward, crossing the Rocky Mountains at an elevation of over 3,000 feet less than at the south pass, the road could be here constructed with comparative cheapness, and would open up a region abounding in valuable timber and other natural products, and admirably suited to the growth of grain and grazing. Having its Atlantic seaboard at Halifax and its Pacific near Vancouver Island, it would undoubtedly draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia and the United States. Thus, British America, from a mere colonial dependency, would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her, other nations would be tributary, and in vain would the United States attempt to be her rival, for she never could dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, nor the power which that commerce confers.

How true were these words, anyone who views the position of Canada to-day may judge. Yet while outsiders saw the importance to the Dominion of a transcontinental line, we had men in our midst who did their utmost to destroy every chance of obtaining it.

The *Toronto Globe* of 3rd February, 1871, contains the following estimate of the importance of an all-rail route from ocean to ocean through Canada :—

Our rulers will be traitors to their country and to British connection, if they lose a single season in making it practicable and convenient for settlers to go to Fort Garry through our own territory, and in putting things in a fair way for the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is a question not merely of convenience but of natural existence. It must be pushed through at whatever expense. We believe it can be pushed through not only without being a burden pecuniarily upon Canada, but with an absolute profit in every point of view. Without such a line, a great British North America would turn out an unsubstantial dream ; with it and with ordinary prudence and wisdom on the part of her statesmen, it will be a great, glorious and inevitable reality.

In strange contrast to the above, we find the same newspaper, in 1880, condemning the construction of the line north

of Lake Superior as a useless expenditure of public money. It seemed indeed as if politics had more to do with the obstruction of the Canadian Pacific contract than a real desire to improve the conditions under which the road was to be built.

On the 18th January, 1881, Hon. Edward Blake moved an amendment to the question, "That the resolutions from the whole House granting and appropriating twenty-five millions of dollars and twenty-five millions of acres of land, according to the contract relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway, be now read a second time." Mr. Blake's amendment was, "That all the words after 'that' to the end of the question, be left out, and the following substituted therefor:—

The late Government invited tenders for the construction and working of the Canadian Pacific Railway under the Act of 1874.

That no tenders were received in answer to these invitations.

That the policy of the present Government, approved by this House in the session of 1879, was to obtain Imperial aid towards the work.

That the policy of the present Government, approved by this House in the session of 1880, was to construct the railway as a Government work.

That it appears that during the recess the Government determined to attempt to make a contract for the construction and working of the railway on wholly new conditions.

That the Canadian Pacific Railway Act provides that the works on any section or sub-section of the railway shall not be given out to any contractor except after tenders have been obtained therefor.

That the Government did not invite tenders on the basis of the said new conditions, or at all.

That such new conditions were not made known by the Government at any time prior to the making of the contract, nor until the night of the 10th December last, when the contract was laid on the table.

That the said new conditions, not authorized nor contemplated by the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, are of the most vital importance, and amongst the same are the following:—

1. By the act, no power is given to the Government to agree with the contractors to construct, for the benefit of the contractors, sections of the work, to be handed over to the contractors.

By the contract, the Government binds itself to complete the unfinished sections, to begin and finish the heaviest section now unlet, and to hand over to the contractors for their own benefit the works, including those now in operation and comprising over 700 miles of railway, of which the Penabina branch alone is yielding \$70,000 a year net revenue.

2. By the act, the cash expenditure of the Government, as principal money to be paid to the contractors, is to be \$10,000 a mile, or about \$27,000 000 for the whole line, apart from the cost of surveys which might or might not form part thereof.

3. By the act, the land grant is to be taken, so far as obtainable, along or in the immediate vicinity of the whole line of railway to the Pacific Ocean, and is to be of fair average quality, thus embracing a large proportion of land not fit for settlement.

By the contract, the land is all to be taken in the North-West Territories, between Selkirk and Jasper, and is not to include any land not fairly fit for settlement.

4. By the act, the land not to be found near the railway is to be appropriated at other places to be determined by the Government.

By the contract, the contractors are given large powers of selection of the land.

5. By the act, the Government is to have control of the sales of two-thirds of the land grant.

By the contract, this power is taken away.

6. By the act, the subsidy and land grant are to be payable in proportion to the value of the work done, as compared with the estimated value of the whole work contracted for.

By the contract, the subsidy and land grant are to be payable in amounts wholly disproportionate on the prairie section, which is the easiest and most profitable, and is intended to be earliest completed.

7. Under the act, the property and capital stock of the company remain liable to Dominion, Provincial and Municipal taxation.

By the contract, such property and capital stock are perpetually exempted from taxation by the Dominion, new Provinces, or Municipalities therein.

8. Under the act, the land grant of the company remains subject to taxation.

By the contract, the land grant is exempted from the Dominion, Provincial and Municipal taxation before mentioned, until sold or occupied, for twenty years from the date of the grant.

9. Under the act, all the materials required by the contractors remain subject to import duties.

By the contract, a large part of such materials is exempted from import duties.

10. Under the act, Parliament and any new Provinces are in no wise hindered from authorizing the construction of other railways, as the public interest may require.

By the contract, it is agreed that Parliament and any new Provinces shall not for twenty years authorize the construction of any railways running in certain directions, which might interfere with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

11. By the act, the Government has unrestricted power to regulate from time to time the tariff of tolls.

By the contract, the power of the Government to reduce an established tariff is limited to the case in which the company is making a net revenue exceeding ten per cent. on the capital invested in the construction of the railway.

12. Under the act, the Government would have power to prescribe from time to time the accommodation and the trains to be provided by the company.

By the contract, such power is not given to the Government.

13. Under the act, the Government would have the power to acquire the railway at any time the public interest might demand.

By the contract, the Government has no such power.

14. By the act, the grades of the railway and the materials and manner of construction and the mode of working, including the description and capacity of the rolling stock, are to be such as may be determined by the Governor in Council; and it was formerly the declared policy of Governments and Parliaments that the grades should be very low.

By the contract, the Union Pacific Railway, as first constructed, is fixed as the approximate standard, and its grades are very high.

15. By the act, no power is given to the company to build branch railways, save one to Georgian Bay and one to Pembina.

By the contract, power is given to the company forever to build branch lines in various parts of the Dominion.

16. By the contract, divers other important privileges and powers are given the company, not authorized or contemplated by the act.

That such new conditions wholly alter the basis for tendering.

That no opportunity was given to Canadian capitalists or to the public to tender for the work on the basis of any such new conditions.

That by the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, it is provided that no contract made under the authority of that Act for the construction of any portion of the main line of the railway, shall be binding until it shall have been laid before the House of Commons for one month without being disapproved, unless sooner approved by a resolution of the House.

That the contract now on the table does not come within the provisions of the said act, and is of no force unless legalized by Parliament.

That the said contract expressly provides that the same shall be binding only in the event of an Act of Incorporation being granted to the projected company, as set out in Schedule A to the contract.

That Parliament is free to reject such a bill.

That it is now proposed that Parliament shall legalize the contract.

That this House is under no obligation to do so, and it is its duty to refuse to do so unless satisfied that the public interest requires such a step.

That the conditions of the contract are extremely onerous and disadvantageous to the country.

That it now appears that terms much more favorable to the country can be obtained.

That on the 14th day of January instant, only five weeks after the said new conditions were made public, an offer, which is now on the Table, was made to the Government by Canadian capitalists of high standing and ample means, credit and business ability, comprising Sir W. P. Howland, H. H. Cook, A. R. McMaster, Wm. Hendrie, John Stuart, John Proctor, P. S. Stephenson, John Walker, D. Macfie, Peleg Howland, A. T. Wood, Allan Gilmour, J. Carruthers, K. Chisholm, A. W. Ross, Geo. A. Cox, P. Larkin, W. D. Lovitt, Barnett & McKay, James McLaren and Alexander Gibson, to complete those parts of the railway to be built by the contractors, and to equip and maintain and work the whole railway from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean, and to perform all the obligations undertaken by the contractors on terms far less onerous to the country in the following respects :—

1. The contract provides for a cash subsidy of \$25,000,000 and a land grant of 25,000,000 acres.

The offer proposes to accept \$22,000,000 and 22,000,000 acres, making a saving of \$3,000,000 in cash and 3,000,000 acres, equal at the Government estimate of \$3.18 per acre, to \$9,540,000, or a total saving of \$12,540,000 on this head.

2. The contract provides as a standard the Union Pacific Railway as first constructed.

The offer proposes that railway as in 1873.

3. The contract provides for the giving of \$9,000,000 and 11,250,000 acres for the prairie 900 miles.

The offer proposes to accept \$6,600,000 cash and 9,000,000 acres for the same work, making a saving on that part of \$2,400,000 and 2,250,000 acres, or a total saving on that part at the Government estimate of \$9,550,000.

4. The contract provides for the giving of \$6,000,000 cash and 7,500,000 acres for the western four hundred and fifty miles to Kamloops.

The offer proposes to accept \$5,400,000 cash and 6,750,000 acres for

the same work, making a saving on that part of \$600,000 cash and 750,000 acres, or a total saving on that part, at the Government estimate, of \$2,985,000.

5. The contract provides that the Government shall permit the admission free of duty of all steel rails, fish plates and other fastenings, spikes, bolts and nuts, wire, timber and all material for bridges to be used in the original construction of the railway, and of a telegraph line in connection therewith, and all telegraphic apparatus required for the first equipment of such telegraph line.

The offer proposes to undertake the obligations without any exemptions from duty, thus effecting a further large gain to the country.

6. The contract provides that for twenty years from the date thereof no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway from any point at or near the Canadian Pacific Railway, except such line as shall run south-west or to the westward of south-west; nor to within fifteen miles of latitude 49; and that in the establishment of any new province in the North-West Territories, provision shall be made for continuing such prohibition after such establishment until the expiration of the said period.

The offer proposes to undertake the obligations without any such restrictions, thus preventing the creation of the legislative monopoly in favor of the company provided by the contract, and preserving to Parliament and the new provinces, unfettered by the contract, their freedom to charter railways and to create competitive routes as the public interest may require, and by this means blotting out one of the most objectionable features of the contract.

7. The contract provides that the Canadian Pacific Railway, and all stations and station grounds, workshops, buildings, yards, and other property, rolling stock and appurtenances required and used for the construction and working thereof, and the capital stock of the company, shall be forever free from taxation by the Dominion or by any province hereafter to be established, or by any municipal corporation therein.

The offer proposes to undertake the obligations without any such exemption thereby effecting a great further public gain.

8. The contract provides that the lands of the company in the North-West Territories, until they are either sold or occupied, shall also be free from such taxation for twenty years after the grant from the Crown.

The offer proposes to undertake the obligations without any such exemption, thereby effecting a great further public gain, and removing a most serious hindrance to the development of the North-West.

9. The contract contains no provision giving to the Government power to acquire the railway.

The offer proposes that the Government shall be entitled at any time

after completion to acquire the railway on terms to be settled by agreement or arbitration, thus enabling the Government, in case the public interest shall be found at any time to demand that step, to acquire the railway with a view to its being dealt with as those interests may then require.

10. The contract provides for the passing of an act which would limit the power of the Governor-in-Council to reduce tolls once established to the case in which the company's net profit shall exceed ten per cent on the capital invested in the construction of the railway.

The offer proposes that there shall be no such limitation, and that the provisions of the General Railway Act shall apply giving the Governor-in-Council unrestricted power to regulate established tolls from time to time, as the public interests may require.

11. The contract makes no provision for the allotment of stock in the company in the several provinces.

The offer proposes that the act to be passed shall provide for the opening of stock books in the principal cities of each Province with a view to such allotment.

That the said offer, besides its proposal for the whole line, contains certain alternative proposals, in case the Government should desire to withdraw from or postpone the construction of certain parts of the line by the contractors. That the conditions of those alternative proposals are not such as should be accepted, but the refusal to accept the same, leaves untouched the offer for the whole line which stands independent of the said alternatives.

That it appears that the said tenderers have deposited in chartered banks of Canada, over \$1,400,000, which is held by such banks as security that if the tender is accepted and the charter granted the million of dollars to be deposited with the Government as security for construction, will be deposited as proposed by the tender.

That it is not in the public interest that the contract, according to the terms of which the \$25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres are proposed to be granted, should be legalized.

The offer of the Howland Syndicate, however, was not generally regarded as genuine, and the Government resolved to stand by the contract made with Mr. Geo. Stephen and his colleagues. Mr. Blake's amendment being therefore defeated, no less than twenty-three further amendments were offered by the following gentlemen, as follows:—

Sir ALBERT SMITH :—

That in the opinion of this house, tenders should be invited for the construction and operation of the railway, before Parliament is asked to ratify any contract for the same.

Mr. BECHARD :—

That prior to and during the last general election, it was the policy of all parties that the arrangements for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be such as the resources of the country would permit without increasing the former rates of taxation, and that the work if it be constructed by a company, should be let only after tenders had been obtained therefor, and should be subjected to purchase by the Government at ten per cent over cost, after deducting the public expenditure, and that the property, and stock, and land grant of the company should be subject to taxation, and that the Governor-in-Council should have the unrestricted right from time to time, to regulate the tolls to be taken and to prescribe the accommodation to be given, and that the Parliament should be free to charter such other railways as the public interest might require.

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway, laid on the Table, involves violations in the above and other particulars of the settled policy in reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and should not be ratified till after the people have had the opportunity of expressing their opinions through the medium of a general election.

Sir RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway involves a total expenditure by the country in connection with that work of about 60 millions of dollars, exclusive of interest, and the cession of 25 millions of acres of choice lands, worth at the estimate of the Government last year at least \$79,500,000, making a total consideration of about \$140,000,000, while the railroad itself is estimated by the Government to cost not more than \$84,000,000, and that the consideration proposed to be given is excessive, and that the contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. BURPEE (Sunbury) :—

That the present construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia is premature, and will involve the country in an expense beyond its reasonable capacity, and will result in the maintenance of too high a rate of taxation, while the postponement of that part of the undertaking till after the completion of the prairie section will enable it to be constructed at much less cost, and within a reasonable time.

Hon. W. LAURIER :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway provides for the construction of between six and seven hundred miles of railway to the north of Lake Superior, between Lake Nipissing and the junction with the road from Thunder Bay, through a difficult and uninhabited country, and at vast expense ; that a mere fraction of the cost of this road would, if applied as a base of credit, secure the construction of those sixty-three miles common to the through line, and to the Sault Ste. Marie Railway, and also of the remainder of the line to Sault Ste. Marie within three years ; that the line by Sault Ste. Marie would give Ontario, Quebec, and the East, railway connections with the North-West of nearly the same length and of better quality than the proposed North Shore line ; that it would also give Canada a great trade from an enormous area of the Western States, extending from the boundary to a point south of St. Paul, and even now inhabited by about 1,200,000 souls ; that it would secure a way traffic ; that it would thus give within three years, and at a fraction of the cost of the other line, greater benefit than can be secured by that line in ten years, which is the period stipulated for its construction ; that it would bring both the Western States and the Canadian North-West into connection by rail with the ocean steamers at Montreal and Quebec, on a route shorter by about 300 miles than the existing route to New York ; that this advantage, together with the further gain of about 250 miles in the ocean voyage to Liverpool, would give this route a commanding position, and secure great benefit to the country at large ; that the construction of the line to the Sault or Goulais Bay would also give a first-class rail and water route *via* Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay, within our own limits, by the shortest possible line, for the transport of emigrants, goods and produce ; that the construction of the line from Sturgeon River to or beyond Thunder Bay, to the north of Lake Superior, is, under the circumstances, premature, and should not now be undertaken.

Hon. DAVID MILLS :—

That the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, while it gives to the company the absolute and perpetual right to build branch lines of railway from any point or points along their line to any point or points within the Territories of the Dominion, and cedes to the company free all Government lands required in connection with such branches, provides that for twenty years no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament, or by any new Province, to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from any point at or near that railway, except such as shall run south-west, or to the westward of south-west, nor to within fifteen miles of the boundary between the

United States and Canada : the same contract cedes to the company the only existing outlets to the North-West, namely, the Pembina branch being the outlet southward, and the Thunder Bay line being the outlet eastward ; the company embraces the chief proprietors of the St. Paul and Manitoba Railway, the only present means of railway communication with the North-West, and thus not only is there no provision for securing competition, but there is provision securing the company against competition, and they are secured in a monopoly of the trade and traffic of the North-West for at least twenty years ; and that the said contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. BORDEN :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway provides, that the company shall not be obliged to receive any section of land consisting, in any material degree, of land not fairly fit for settlement, and that lakes and water stretches shall not be computed in the acreage of the company's sections, and gives to the company the right of selecting in alternate blocks anywhere in the fertile belt or elsewhere, the amount of the large deficiency in the acreage to be found in alternate blocks within twenty-four miles of the main line, thus including coal, mineral, timber, stone quarry petroleum and salt producing lands in their choice, and gives to the company, with the consent of the Government, the right to select in the North-West Territories any tracts of land not taken up, in order to supply the deficiency : and provides no proper means of deciding whether the alternate sections on the main line and branches should be accepted by the company ; and that the said contract is, in these particulars unjust and impolitic.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway, provides for a distribution of the money and land to be given for the work, wholly arbitrary and disproportionate ; that land and money, far in excess of proportionate cost, is assigned to the prairie part, the easiest and most productive of the railway, which it is alleged will be constructed within three years, by which time the company will be entitled, in cash and lands, to a surplus amounting, according to the Government estimate of the lands at \$3.18 an acre, to over thirty-four millions, which surplus should have been reserved and applied towards the construction and working of the eastern and western ends, and that the said contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. TROW :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway exempts twenty-five millions of acres of choice lands of the company from Domin-

ion, Provincial and Municipal taxation, until such lands are either sold or occupied, for twenty years after the grant thereof from the Crown ; that such exemption is unjust and will impose undue burdens on the settlers on the alternate sections, who will be obliged to make improvements and incur expenses, enhancing the value of the company's lands without receiving their fair share of the cost of such improvements and expenses ; that such exemption, by freeing the company from the burdens of taxation, will reduce the inducements to the company to sell their lands early and will enable the company, free of expense, to hold their lands till their value has been greatly enhanced by the labors of the adjoining settlers, and that the said contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. PATTERSON (Brant):—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway laid on the Table, does not insure finality as to the public obligations in that regard, but imposes on Canada, besides the grant of large sums of money and acres of land, the construction, by the Government, for the benefit of the syndicate, of the most expensive parts of the railway, which are to be built by Government during the next ten years, and that the said contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. RINFRET :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway contains provisions for ceding to the company twenty-five million of acres of choice lands in the North-West, but it does not, as it should, embrace any provision that such lands shall be open for sale to actual settlers at any maximum price ; that the absence of such provision will enable the company to lock up the lands at their pleasure for a long time, and so be injurious to the progress of the country, and add to the labors and difficulties of the early settlers, and that the said contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. CHARLTON :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway exempts perpetually the railway and all stations and station grounds, workshops, buildings, yards, and other property, rolling stock and appurtenances required for the construction and working thereof, and the capital stock of the company, from taxation by the Dominion, or by any Province to be hereafter established, or by any Municipal Corporation therein.

That the property of the corporation will be in substance a gift from the public ; and its exemption from taxes is unjust, creates an unfair incidence of taxation, and gives an undue advantage to the company over other railway companies, calculated to prevent the construction of competing lines, and the contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. Ross (Middlesex) :—

That the contract respecting the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway provides that Parliament shall not have power to interfere with the tolls charged by the company unless the same produce first the working expenses of the whole line, including the British Columbia and Lake Superior sections, which working expenses comprise all expenses of maintenance of the railway and of the stations, buildings, workshops and appurtenances belonging thereto, and the rolling stock and other stock, and movable plant used in the working thereof, and also hire of engines, rents, charges and interest on lands not paid for, and all expenses incidental to working the railway and the traffic thereon, including stores and all consumable articles, and also rates, taxes, insurance and compensation for accidents or losses, also all salaries and wages of persons employed in connection with the railway or traffic, and all office and management expenses, including directors' fees, agency, legal and other like expenses, and thereafter a profit, at least ten per cent., on the capital expended on the construction of the railway, which includes the public money and the proceeds of the public lands so expended, thus restraining Parliament from interfering unless the company receives at least \$8,000,000 a year profit, on a private capital of merely nominal amount; that Parliament ought to have power to regulate the tolls on the railway from time to time, as, and when the public interest requires and that the contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. SCRIVER :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway permits the company to lay out the line of the railway as they may see fit, subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council, preserving only the following terminal points: Callander Station, to a point of junction with the Lake Superior Section, and Selkirk, to the junction with the western Section by way of the Yellow Head Pass; that the latitude thus allowed would enable the company to deflect the line through the prairie country in such a manner as largely to defeat the main object of establishing a great central road through the North-West, as is proposed by the route now adopted; that no substantial change should be made in the route without the sanction of Parliament, and that the contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. GUTHRIE :—

That by the Consolidated Railway Act, 1879, it is provided that every by-law fixing and regulating the tolls to be taken by a railway company shall be subject to a revision by the Governor-in-Council from time to time after approval thereof.

That the exercise by the Governor-in-Council of the power of reducing tolls under the said Act is by the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway limited as regards the said company to such an extent that the tolls when reduced shall not produce less than ten per cent. per annum profit on the capital actually expended in the construction of the railway, and that the net income of the company from all sources shall not be less than ten per cent. on the capital so expended.

That the said contract thus limits in favor of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the powers given to the Governor-in Council in the case of other railway companies, and gives to the company whose road is to be built so largely at the public cost, an extraordinary privilege, and withdraws from the public the protection provided for them in the case of other railways which may be built solely out of private resources,

That the Governor-in-Council should have in the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the same unrestricted power which is possessed in the case of such other railways, of revising, from time to time, as the public interest may require, any tariff of tolls, and that the contract is in this particular objectionable.

Mr. CASGRAIN :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway makes no provision for the establishment of an Executive Commission or other machinery for regulating the tolls and securing proper accommodations to the public on the railway which is to be built practically at the public cost ; that such provision should be made, and that the contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway, laid on the Table, does not, as it should, provide for running powers for the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway, and for the Ontario and Pacific Junction Railway, over the sixty-three miles from Nipissing to Sturgeon River, which form the line common to the through line and the Sault Ste. Marie line.

And that the contract does not make satisfactory provision for securing the traffic to and from Montreal and the East by the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway, against preferential charges which the Canadian Pacific Railway may establish in favor of the Canada Central Railway, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway, the Côteau Railway, or other lines of railway to the south and east, nor against the preferential charges which it may be to the interest of the Canadian Pacific Railway to establish in case of the authorized and contemplated acquisition of or

amalgamation with or of the use of running powers over the Canada Central Railway, nor in case the Canadian Pacific Railway amalgamates with or obtains running powers over the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway, the Côteau Railway, or any other railway running south or east.

Nor does the said contract make satisfactory provision for securing the traffic to and from Ontario by the Ontario and Pacific Junction Railway against the preferential changes which it may be the interest of the Canadian Pacific Railway to establish, in the event of the authorized and contemplated acquisition of, or amalgamation with, or use of running powers over, the Canada Central Railway, and other railways south and east of Ottawa ; and the said contract is in these respects objectionable.

Mr. KILLAM :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway provides for the admission, duty free, of all steel rails, fish plates and other fastenings, spikes, bolts and nuts, wire, timber, and all materials for bridges to be used in the original construction of the railway and of a telegraph line in connection therewith, and all telegraphic apparatus required for the first equipment of such telegraph line ; that such exemption from duty is unjust, and the contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. FISER :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway makes no sufficient or satisfactory provision for the construction of the work in a proper manner, or its efficient operation afterwards, nor does it, as it should, provide that so much of the work as is done by the company shall in case they make default in completing the railway, belong to the Government, and that the contract is in these respects objectionable.

Mr. LARUE :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway makes no provision for the creation or continuance of a substantial Canadian interest in the stock of the company, nor does it guard against the transfer of a controlling interest of foreigners at any time of the incorporation of the company, and it provides that the company may appoint and fix places of business beyond the limits of Canada where the business of the company may be transacted, and at which the directors and shareholders may meet, that under this provision the important business of the company may be transacted and its directors and shareholders' meetings held in St. Paul, Minnesota, or New York, or elsewhere in the United States ; that such power should not be given, and that the contract in this respect is objectionable.



**Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B., D.C.L.,**  
*High Commissioner for Canada, London, England.*



Mr. KING :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway, provides as a standard whereby the quality and character of the railway and of the material used in the construction thereof, and in the equipment thereof, may be regulated, the Union Pacific Railway of the United States, as the same was when first constructed.

That by a letter since laid on the Table, some members of the syndicate have expressed their intention to abide by the standard of the Union Pacific Railway as it was in February, 1873—that this letter is not binding on the projected company—that neither of the said proposed standards is satisfactory, that there are objectionable details in the construction of the Union Pacific Railway ; that the conformation of the ground on the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway admits of much better alignments and grades than those of the Union Pacific Railway : that this was recognized in the contract made by the Government with Sir Hugh Allan and others in 1873, which provided in this respect that the Union Pacific Railway should not be the standard with respect to any minor details in its construction and working which may be found objectionable ; and with respect to its alignments and grades which should be as favorable as the nature of the country will admit without undue expenditure ; that the contract and letter on the Table contain no such provision, and provide a standard lower than that of the Allan contract, unsuitable to the country and calculated to secure an inferior railway ; that the condition of the Union Pacific Railway was very different when first constructed from its condition in February, 1893—and its present condition is also very different from its condition in February, 1873 ; that in order to apply its former condition as a standard for the Canadian Pacific Railway, it would be necessary to engage in an enquiry as to what its condition actually was many years ago. And this renders the proposed standard unsatisfactory, and that the contract is in these respects objectionable.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Inverness) :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway does not preserve to the Government the right to give to other corporations, running powers over the Thunder Bay line and the Pembina branch ; but improperly cedes to the company the absolute and exclusive right to these avenues to the North-West, and the said contract is in this respect objectionable.

Mr. CASEY :—

That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway makes no provision for the Government having a right, at its option, to acquire

the railway on proper terms, having regard to the amount of public resources invested in the enterprise: that the public security may require the exercise by the Government of such an option, and that the right should be secured by the contract, which is in this respect objectionable.

We have given these amendments in full, because they show all the different phases of objection brought forward by the Opposition. The carrying of any one of the amendments would, of course, have defeated the contract, and the Government was therefore obliged to vote them down one after the other, which they did by handsome majorities. It was, of course, the aim of the Opposition to prevent the charter from being given to the syndicate, hoping thereby to defeat the Government; and the latter, seeing in the offer of Mr. George Stephen and his colleagues the only chance of building the road within a reasonable time, put forth all their strength to carry the bargain to a successful termination.

On the defeat of Mr. Casey's amendment, the resolutions in favor of the contract were carried, and on the 28th January, 1881, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced the Bill for the incorporation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Act met with the same steady opposition as did the resolutions respecting the contract, and it was hotly contested clause by clause, until, on the 1st February, it passed its third reading and was sent to the Senate, who accepted the Bill without amendment, and it became law on the 17th.

Thus ended one of the most important discussions that ever took place in the Parliament of Canada.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE.

AFTER the transfer of the North-West to Canada, and the organization of Manitoba as a Province, the Western and Northern limits of Ontario were still undefined. The boundary question had been discussed at various times previous to Confederation (See Chapters xvi and xix, vol. 1), but several intervening circumstances had prevented its satisfactory settlement. We have mentioned in a former chapter that Manitoba allowed herself to drift into the controversy existing between the Governments of the Dominion and Ontario with regard to the boundary, and eventually assumed the false position of a litigant in a cause of which she should have been, at most, an interested onlooker. The inception of that dispute, its progress, and the unpleasant consequences which it entailed on Manitoba, are of more than passing interest, and a brief review of the case is therefore deemed opportune at this stage of our history.

On June 29th, 1871, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act respecting the establishment of Provinces in the Dominion, which conferred the power "to increase, diminish, or otherwise alter the limits of" any Province, upon such terms and conditions as might be agreed to by the Legislature of such Province. Soon after—on July 14th, 1871—the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, Attorney-General of Ontario, addressed

a memorandum to the Governor-General, calling attention to the necessity which existed for the settlement of the true boundary separating Ontario from the North-West Territories, and asking the co-operation of the Dominion in appointing a commission empowered to deal with the matter. Acting upon this memorandum, the Dominion authorities appointed Mr. Eugene E. Taché as their commissioner, to act in concert with the Hon. William McDougall, the commissioner for Ontario. The instructions given to the Dominion commissioner were in substance as follows :—"The boundary in question is clearly identical with the limits of the Province of Quebec, according to the 14th Geo. III., cap. 83, known as the 'Quebec Act,' and is described in the said Act as follows, that is to say : Having set forth the westerly portion of the southern boundary of the Province, as extending along the River Ohio '*westward to the banks of the Mississippi,*' the description continues from thence (*i.e.*, the junction of the two rivers) '*and northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the Merchant Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay.*'

"Having determined the precise longitude west of Greenwich of the extreme point of land marking the junction of the north and east banks respectively of the said rivers, you will proceed to ascertain and define the corresponding point of longitude of the intersection of the meridian passing through the said junction with the international boundary between Canada and the United States. Looking, however, at the tracing enclosed, marked A, intended to illustrate these instructions, it is evident such meridian would intersect the international boundary in Lake Superior.

"Presuming this to be the case, you will determine and lo-

cate the said meridian, that same being the westerly portion of the boundary in question, at such a point on the northerly shore of the said lake as may be nearest to the said international boundary, and from thence survey a line due south to deep water, marking the same upon and across any and all points or islands which may intervene; and from the position on the main shore, found as aforesaid, draw and mark a line due north to the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Territory before mentioned. This will complete the survey of the westerly boundary line sought to be established.

"You will then proceed to trace out, survey and mark, eastwardly, the aforementioned '*southern boundary of the territory granted to the Merchant Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay.*'

"This is well understood to be the height of land dividing the waters which flow into Hudson's Bay from those emptying into the valley of the great lakes, and forming the northern boundary of Ontario; and the same is to be traced and surveyed, following its various windings till you arrive at the angle therein between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, as the latter is at present bounded; having accomplished which, the service will have been completed."

A copy of these instructions was forwarded to the Ontario Government, who took exception to them, claiming that the true boundary was very different from that defined in the instructions, and declined taking further action in the matter so far as the proposed commission was concerned. On receipt of this decision, the Dominion authorities invited the Ontario Government to express their understanding of the boundary which they considered the true one, and, should it be found, after an interchange of opinions, that the two Governments

could not agree as to the location of the line, they would, no doubt, settle upon some authoritative mode of determining the boundary. Ontario's answer was that there were good grounds for contending that the limit of Ontario was further west than the one proposed in the instructions, but, that in view of all the circumstances, they were prepared to agree to the western limit so proposed, in case the same was accepted by the Dominion, but failing such acceptance they would not consider themselves bound by such proposal in the future. As to the northern limit, Ontario maintained that the northern boundary lay north of the watershed of the St. Lawrence System (the limit defined in the instructions), and if the Dominion agreed to this position as to the northern boundary, Ontario would be prepared to consider a proposal for the establishment of a conventional boundary north of the St. Lawrence watershed. With this proposal the Ontario Government forwarded the following "proposed description:"—

"The boundary line of Ontario is the international boundary from the mouth of the Pigeon River, on Lake Superior, to a point west of the Lake of the Woods, where the international boundary line would be intersected by a line drawn north from the source of the Mississippi River; thence the boundary line of Ontario runs north to the point of intersection of the southern boundaries of the Hudson's Bay Territories; thence the boundary line of Ontario is the southern boundary of those Territories to the point where that boundary would be intersected by a line drawn north from the head of Lake Tamiscoming."

Reference to a map will show that the two Governments were at wide odds regarding the western boundary, the more important of the matters in dispute, and it was unfortunate

for Manitoba that the Dominion did not then accept Ontario's offer to accede to the limit defined in the instructions, as such acceptance would have given Manitoba an independent outlet at Port Arthur, besides including within her boundaries the mineral and timber lands of Western Algoma, which could not have failed to add materially to her wealth and importance as a province. But the Dominion Government saw fit to decline this overture towards a settlement, and proposed, instead, that the case be immediately referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for a decision. They also proposed an arrangement between the Governments for some joint course of action, as to the granting of titles to land, mining rights, reservation of royalties, etc., pending the decision of the Privy Council, by which both Governments should be bound, and under which the Government, in whom the territory should be vested by the decision of the Privy Council, should confirm the titles to land, etc., so jointly granted. Another fact which impelled the Dominion Government to ask for a speedy settlement of the boundary was that, until its establishment, no criminal jurisdiction could be effectively established or exercised in the disputed territory. The Ontario Government refused to submit the case to the Judicial Committee, on the ground that the cost would be too great, and that as all the evidence was procurable on this continent, it would be preferable to refer it to a commission to be chosen by the two Governments. They declared that they were strongly convinced that it was their duty to retain control of the lands within the boundaries claimed by them, yet, in their desire to meet the views of the Dominion Government, they agreed to refer the disposition of lands, mining rights, etc., to commissioners, and named the Honorable R. W. Scott as On-

tario's representative, to confer with Honorable J. C. Aitkin, who had been named by the Dominion. A dispute arose at this time regarding certain accounts, amounting to \$4,035.74, for the maintenance of a police force at Thunder Bay, and for cash advances for the court house at Prince Arthur's Landing, which sum the Dominion Government charged to Ontario. The latter paid \$1,008.33 for maintenance of police, but repudiated the other items, alleging that the outlay was not authorized by the Province.

In a Report of Council, dated the 7th November, 1872, the Dominion Government decided that it would be injudicious to submit a case of such grave importance to a commissioner, whose decision might be made the subject of appeal, and maintained their former proposal of stating the case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the only tribunal capable of rendering a decision that would be final, and satisfactory to all concerned.

No further action was taken in the matter for several months. A number of mining claims and homesteads were taken up on the north shore of Lake Superior, and in the neighborhood of Lake Shebandowan, but neither Government would entertain the claims, and the unlucky squatters were left in suspense as to the ultimate fate of their locations. The "Pacific Scandal," and the all-absorbing excitement which it caused, overshadowed even the important question of Ontario's boundaries, and it was not till after the resignation of Sir John A. Macdonald, and the establishment of Hon. Alexander Mackenzie in office, that it was again brought on the carpet.

In December, 1873, negotiations were opened by the Dominion Government, with a view to a settlement of the dis-

pute, and in March following, the Ontario Legislature passed a resolution approving of a reference of the question to arbitration, or to the Imperial Privy Council, as the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council should see fit, and also the adoption of a provisional boundary line in the meantime, on such terms as might be agreed upon between the Federal and Provincial Governments. In June, 1874, the Ontario Government submitted a memorandum of agreement for a provisional boundary in respect to patents for lands, which was accepted by the Dominion Cabinet. This agreement provided that the conventional boundaries of Ontario, for the purposes of the agreement, should be on the west, the meridian line passing through the most easterly point of Hunter's Island, run south until it meets the international boundary, and north until it intersects the 51st parallel of latitude: and the said 51st parallel shall be the conventional boundary of the Province on the north. That all patents for lands in the disputed territory, to the east and south of the said conventional boundaries, until the true boundaries can be adjusted, should be issued by the Government of Ontario; and all patents of lands on the west and north of the conventional boundaries, should be issued by the Dominion Government. The memorandum was signed by the Honorable David Laird, Minister of the Interior for the Dominion, and Honorable T. B. Pardee, Commissioner of Crown Lands for Ontario.

In the following November, the two Governments agreed to refer the case to arbitration. The Dominion Government named Ex-Governor Wilmot, Nova Scotia, as their arbitrator; and the Ontario Government nominated Chief Justice Richards, as theirs. Before the board was constituted, Mr. Wilmot died, and Chief Justice Richards was created Chief Justice of

the Supreme Court of Canada, and it became necessary to name their successors. The Dominion Government then named Sir Francis Hincks, and the Ontario Government, Chief Justice Harrison, and these two arbitrators selected Sir Edward Thornton, Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, as a third arbitrator. The arbitrators met in the Supreme Court, at Ottawa, on August 1st, 1878, to hear the arguments of counsel. Mr. Hugh McMahon, Q.C., (now Judge) of London, Ont., and Mr. E. Cornwallis Monk, Q.C., of Montreal, appeared in the interests of the Dominion; and the Honorable Oliver Mowat, Premier and Attorney-General of Ontario, and Mr. Thomas Hodgins, Q.C., M.P.P., represented Ontario.

We have already shown the boundaries claimed by the Dominion and the Province, the latter now claimed the western boundary to be either a line drawn due north from the source of the Mississippi River, or the Rocky Mountains.

After hearing the exhaustive and able arguments of the counsel, and carefully considering the evidence submitted, the arbitrators delivered the following award:—

To all to whom these presents shall come :

The undersigned having been appointed by the Governments of Canada and Ontario as arbitrators to decide as to the boundaries of the Province of Ontario, do hereby determine and decide that the following are and shall be such boundaries, that is to say :

Commencing at a point on the southern shore of Hudson's Bay, commonly called James' Bay, where a line produced due north from the head of Lake Temiscamingue would strike the said south shore, thence along the said south shore westerly to the mouth of the Albany River, thence up the middle of the said Albany River and of the lakes thereon to the south of the said river at the head of Lake St. Joseph, thence by the nearest line to the easterly end of Lac Saul, being the head waters of the English River, thence westerly through the middle of Lac Saul and the said English River to a point where the same will be intersected by a true meridional line drawn northerly from the international monument placed to mark the most north-westerly angle of the Lake of the Woods by the recent Boundary Commission,

and thence due south, following the said meridional line to the said international monument, thence southerly and easterly following upon the international boundary line between the British possessions and the United States of America into Lake Superior. But if a true meridional line drawn northerly from the said international boundary at the said most north westerly angle of the Lake of the Woods shall be found to pass to the west of where the English River empties into the Winnipeg River, then and in such case the northerly boundary of the Province of Ontario shall continue down the middle of the said English River to where the same empties into the Winnipeg River, and shall continue thence in a line drawn due west from the confluence of the said English River with the said Winnipeg River until the same will intersect the meridian above described, and thence due south following the said meridional to the said international monument, thence southerly and easterly following upon the international boundary line between the British possessions and the United States of America into Lake Superior.

Given under our hands at Ottawa, in the Province of Ontario, this third day of August, 1878.

(Signed) ROBT. A. HARRISON.  
F. HINCKS.  
EDWARD THORNTON.

This award could have no effect until it had been ratified by the Dominion and Provincial Parliaments. The Dominion Government allowed a session to pass without taking any action in the matter, but the Ontario Legislature passed an act ratifying the award and providing for the administration of justice in the territory, dividing it into two districts, the Nipissing District and Thunder Bay District, and appointing a stipendiary magistrate for each. This act (as we have shown in a previous chapter) was disallowed by the Governor-General as being *ultra vires*, the Parliament of Canada not having ratified the award nor legislated upon the subject.

On the 16th February, Hon. Edward Blake inquired in the House if it was the intention of the Government to propose a measure ratifying the award of the arbitrators, and Sir John A. Macdonald replied that they did not. A committee was

appointed to inquire into and report upon all matters connected with the boundary question, but the report, which covers over 500 pages, was not presented until two days before the close of the session, and no action was taken on it. During the session, a bill was passed providing for the administration of justice in the disputed territory, which granted concurrent jurisdiction to the magistrates and peace officers of the Dominion, Manitoba and Ontario.

The proposed extension of the boundaries of Manitoba in 1881 brought the question of Ontario's western limit prominently before the Dominion Parliament. On the 11th March, 1881, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced a bill to provide for the extension of the boundaries of Manitoba, in which the eastern boundary of that province was defined to be "a line drawn due north from where the westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario intersects the international boundary line dividing Canada from the United States of America." When the bill came up for its second reading, Hon. David Mills warmly opposed it. He accused the Prime Minister of attempting to fix the boundary in disregard of the award, and thus hand over to Manitoba a large section of country which belonged rightly to Ontario. This course would provoke a conflict between Ontario and Manitoba. He proposed that, pending the settlement of the dispute between the Dominion and Ontario, the boundary of Manitoba should not be extended eastward beyond the limit marked out by the arbitrators. Sir John Macdonald pointed out that the bill did not interfere with any right now or at any time possessed by Ontario. The arbitrators had laid down a mere conventional or convenient boundary, and the Government of the Dominion had refused to legislate in the way of ratifying the award; this bill left the question

open. Hon. Mr. Blake moved an amendment :—"That the bill be recommitted to a committee of the whole, with instructions that they have power to amend the same so as to provide that the existing conditions under the conventional boundary agreed upon by the Governments of Canada and Ontario in 1874, shall not, pending the settlement of the true boundary, be effected prejudicially to the interests of either of the contracting parties, or to those of the inhabitants of Prince Arthur's Landing, Thunder Bay, and other parts of the territory which have been under the control of and treated as part of Ontario, and are represented in this House as part of that province." This amendment was negatived, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

During the session of 1880, the Ontario Legislature voted the sum of \$10,000 to meet expenses incurred in maintaining the rights of Ontario in the disputed territory ; and in the following year a resolution was passed, by a vote of 75 to 1, in which the House pledged "its cordial support to the Government of Ontario in any step it may be necessary to take to sustain the award and to assert and maintain the just claims and rights of the province as thereby declared and determined."

On the 27th January, 1882, a despatch was sent by the Secretary of State to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, in which the position of the Dominion on the question was set forth, and from which we give the following extracts :—

The position of His Excellency's advisers has been uniform from the beginning ; they have on all occasions been anxious to obtain from the highest tribunal approachable, an authoritative decision of the question in dispute, and have been unwilling, and have considered it inconsistent with their duty, to treat the matter as one which might be dealt with by arbitration. There is a legal boundary between Ontario and the recently acquired North-West Territories ; and as representing the various provinces of the Dominion who have acquired that territory, it is the duty, it is con-

sidered, of the Government of the Dominion, not to give away any part of it, nor to agree to arbitration upon its boundary, but to ascertain what its legal extent is. The North-West Territories were acquired in 1870, and on the 9th day of April, the 1st of May, and the 17th of November, 1872, the importance of settling the boundary, and of settling it as a question of law, which could be determined by a Judicial Tribunal, was pressed upon the consideration of His Excellency's predecessor, and communicated to the Government of Ontario. Had the proposal then made, for the submission of the dispute to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, been accepted by Ontario, the delays and inconveniences alleged to have occurred, would have been avoided; the matter would long since have been settled by the highest authority in the Empire, and the boundary between Ontario and the then recently acquired North-West Territories, authoritatively and finally settled. His Excellency's advisers believe that it is much to be regretted in the interests of Ontario, as well as of the Dominion at large, that a proposal so reasonable in itself, and which would have brought to the consideration of the legal question involved, the most learned and accomplished minds in the Empire, and given every assurance of a speedy and satisfactory decision, and one which would have commanded universal assent, was not accepted by the Government of Ontario. It does not appear that any response was made by the Government of Ontario to the proposal to submit the question to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The proposal of 1874, that the question should be referred to arbitration, does not seem to have been treated by either Government as a mode of seeking an authoritative decision upon a question involved as a matter of law, but rather as a means of establishing a conventional line without first ascertaining the true boundary. In corroboration of this view, it is to be noted, that of the three gentlemen who made the award referred to in your despatch under the reference of 1872, two were laymen, and only one of the profession of law. His Excellency's advisers are of opinion that in advance of Parliamentary sanction, it was not only highly inexpedient, but transcended the power of the Government of the day to refer to arbitration the extent of the North-West Territories acquired by the Dominion by purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company. On assuming office, His Excellency's present advisers found that no authority had been obtained from Parliament for the reference made in 1874, of the dispute to arbitration; they, themselves, were opposed to that mode of disposing of the question, conceiving it to be inexpedient and lacking in legal authority, and that the duty of the Government was to seek for the disposal of the matter as a question of law.

In 1875, the Act creating the Supreme Court was passed by the Parliament of Canada. The British North America Act, 1867, authorized that court to be created *inter alia* for the purpose of dealing with inter-provin-

cial constitutional questions, and upon creation of that court it would seem to have become the tribunal to which both Federal and Provincial Governments should have resorted for the decision of the question now under discussion. As in 1872, the Government of the day was anxious to submit the question to the then highest tribunal, so now His Excellency's present advisers would readily consent to use the influence of the Dominion Government, with that of Manitoba, to offer a submission of the whole question, as to the boundary, to the Supreme Court of Canada, under the 52nd section of the Act of 1875, establishing the Court. They trust with confidence that their exertions with the Government of Manitoba would be attended with success, and that such submission would be agreed to by that Government. Another method of obtaining an authoritative decision was pointed out to the Attorney-General of Ontario, at an interview sought for that purpose with him by Sir John Macdonald and the Minister of Justice, who on the 21st of November last proposed to Mr. Mowat, at his office in Toronto, that the Government of the Dominion and that of Ontario should unite in soliciting the good offices of some eminent English law functionary for the purpose of determining the true boundary line. The name of Lord Selborne, who was then, it was reported, likely to seek relief from the fatigues of his office, and of Lord Cairns, were suggested by Sir John Macdonald, who proposed that one or other of these noblemen, or some other distinguished legal functionary, should be invited to come to Canada, to sit in Toronto or elsewhere, for the purpose of hearing the evidence, and deciding upon the boundary question as one of law, susceptible of being determined by evidence, as other important questions are. The great advantage in such a submission would be that whilst legal ability and learning of the highest character would be secured for the decision of the question, it would have given both parties the opportunity of submitting each evidence they might think proper, and the difficulty of agreeing on facts, and settling a case to be submitted to the Privy Council, would have been avoided. Evidence would be heard on the spot, and the fact of hearing, and the argument of counsel taking place in the country, would have tended to command general assent. This proposition was taken into consideration by Mr. Mowat, and it is only recently that he conveyed to the Minister of Justice his indisposition to accede to his proposal; but it is one which His Excellency's Government is still ready to adopt if their previous suggestion of a submission to the Supreme Court of Canada should not command the assent of the Government of Ontario. His Excellency's advisers look upon the question as one which should be considered as rigidly as one of law, on account of the fiduciary character which they hold in regard to the various Provinces of the Dominion, where money was expended in acquisition of the territory, and who now are largely exerting and taxing themselves for the pur-

pose of constructing a line of railway through it to which the Government of Ontario (although the railway passes for upwards 600 miles through its territory) have refused to contribute any aid in land, as has so largely been done out of the North-West Territories by the Dominion. The Government of the Dominion believe that the interests of the Province of Ontario are considered by the action which they advise, as much and as strongly as any other province. Their only anxiety is that a legal question, in which Ontario is interested also as a member of the Confederation should be disposed of by a legal tribunal.

The Lieutenant-Governor's (Hon. John Beverley Robinson) reply to this despatch was an elaborate review of the whole case, in which Ontario's contentions were presented in an able manner, although portions of it were couched in language more emphatic and fervent than is generally found in diplomatic correspondence. He declined, on the part of Ontario, to agree to any provisional arrangement, unless the rights of the Province were fully recognized in the disputed territory *pendente lite*, and that Manitoba should consent to the repeal of so much of the Act enlarging her boundaries as had the effect of assigning to that Province the claim of the Dominion to 39,000 square miles of the disputed territory. The despatch concludes:—"But I am advised that no provisional arrangement would be so satisfactory, or so beneficial to the development and settlement of the territory, the maintenance of order, and the due administration of justice therein, as the just course of obtaining, without further delay, by proper legislation from the Federal Parliament and the Legislature of Manitoba, the recognition of the Award as a final adjustment of the boundaries of this Province. The evils already endured are beyond recall, but the continuance or aggravation of them from this time forward is in the hands of your Government."

The Ontario Legislature met in January, 1882, and, on March 9th, passed resolutions, introduced by Hon. Oliver

Mowat, declaring that it was the duty of the Province to assume, without further delay, the full government and ownership of the (disputed) territory, without reference to the claims of the Federal Government, leaving the responsibility for any collision which might occur "with the Federal authorities, and the remedy to the people whom the Federal and Provincial authorities respectively represent." Mr. W. R. Meredith, leader of the Opposition, strongly opposed the passage of the resolutions, and moved an amendment in which it was declared that the Award (unratified by the Federal Parliament) was wholly nugatory and inoperative, and the whole question open and undetermined; asserted that it was the duty of the Ontario Government to take immediate steps for the submission of the matter to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and deprecated the "violent, improper and reckless attitude assumed by the advisers of the Crown in Ontario with regard to this important matter," which was "inimical to the best interests of the Province, and hostile to the Crown." The amendment was lost on a vote of 25 to 50.

The Ontario Government seemed determined to force their views upon the Dominion and Manitoba, notwithstanding the doubt which existed as to the legality of referring such a grave question to arbitration in the first place, and of the value of the Award as a final determination of the matters in dispute. The arbitrators had been appointed by orders in council of the two governments, without the sanction of the Dominion Parliament or the Legislature of Ontario; their powers had not been defined with any degree of precision; two of them (Sir Francis Hincks, and Sir Edward Thornton) were laymen, incompetent to judge the legal aspects of the question; and, finally, a majority of the Dominion Parliament had refused to accept or ratify the Award.

Such was the state of the case in 1883, when (in July) Ontario took possession of the disputed territory, by appointing Mr. G. R. Pattullo and Captain G. Burden as commissioners to take evidence in regard to conflicting claims to land, appointing a stipendiary magistrate and a staff of constables, providing a court house and jail, and announcing that all timber cut outside of the railway belt would be seized as the property of Ontario. This action brought Ontario into direct conflict with Manitoba, as the latter had incorporated the town of Rat Portage, and had appointed magistrates and constables, and established a county court and a jail. There was also a Dominion commissioner resident at Rat Portage, and a Dominion police force.

From this time, till the final settlement of the boundary dispute, the Dominion made no move towards asserting authority in the disputed territory, except in the administration of criminal justice; refrained from exercising jurisdiction in regard to lands, timber, or minerals, but looked calmly on while Ontario and Manitoba struggled for possession. The particulars to the legal combat which ensued, and which at times threatened to develop into actual civil war, will be found in the chapters devoted to the Honorable John Norquay's Administration.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

As soon as the Act incorporating the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had been passed, the Syndicate lost no time in getting to work. Offices were opened in Winnipeg; Mr. Stickney was appointed General Superintendent; General Rosser was placed in charge of Surveys, etc., as Chief Engineer, and Mr. J. H. McTavish was selected as Land Commissioner. Under these three heads of departments the work of organizing the operations of the railway was undertaken, and some progress was made, when it was decided to make a change in the management, as it was not altogether to the satisfaction of the Board of Directors. Mr. Stickney thereupon severed his connection with the company, and was succeeded by Mr. W. C. Van Horne, who, upon the recommendation of Mr. James J. Hill, was appointed to the position of General Manager. Soon after, General Rosser's services were dispensed with, and from that time the progress of the railway was phenomenal.

One of the first steps taken by the company was to open an office in London, England, for the purpose of inducing emigration to the North-West, and placing before the people of Great Britain and Europe the advantages of the country through which the railway was to run. A very large amount

of money was spent in this way, making known the resources of the North-West, and incidentally of the whole Dominion; and thus the Canadian Pacific Railway Company did good service to Canada. There was, however, at that time a little opposition in England on the part of investors and others to anything Canadian. The heavy losses sustained by British capitalists in Grand Trunk investments were not forgotten, and when Mr. George Stephen visited England he found a very lukewarm feeling on the part of moneyed men toward the enterprise which he and his colleagues had undertaken. The press of Great Britain was especially cool to the enterprise, and matters for a long time did not look promising in the English market.

This state of affairs was the result in a large measure of former failures on the part of Canadian public men to float the Canadian Pacific Railway scheme in Great Britain, and of the unpatriotic attempt of Canadian politicians to belittle the enterprise in the eyes of the British investor. But Mr. George Stephen, with dogged perseverance and infinite tact, gradually fought his way through all these difficulties. The Grand Trunk was probably the most bitter of his opponents, and the men interested in that great railway used very unfair means to defeat what they regarded as a coming formidable rival to their road. To write the history of the battle which the directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had to fight in England at the outset would require several volumes, and very interesting reading they would form.

During this time the work of making known the capabilities of the North-West went on vigorously. Thousands of pamphlets descriptive of the country were circulated throughout Great Britain and Europe. Samples of the produce of

the country were exhibited at the fairs, and gradually an interest in the Dominion, especially its North-Western lands, was excited. The newspapers of England, Scotland and Ireland began to sound the praises of Canada, and while vicious attacks against its suitability for successful settlement continued—many of them, strange to relate, coming from Canadians—on the whole, public opinion in Great Britain took a favorable turn.

Although the terms of the charter appear to be liberal, the sequel proved that they were none too much so. The capital stock of the company was fixed at \$100,000,000, and it was expected at one time that land sales, or the security of the land grant, would make up any additional amount required, and enable the company to complete the road without mortgaging it. It was, therefore, good policy on the part of the company to adopt vigorous measures to advertise these lands for the purpose of attracting attention to them, and making known their great worth. That the company succeeded in creating a favorable impression in regard to the Canadian North-West, and the value of the country for settlement, is, without doubt, notwithstanding the severe attacks made upon it, not only by interested parties in England, but also by politicians and newspapers in Canada, for party purposes. It is therefore, clear that it was to the interest of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to uphold the country through which their line was to run, and to establish the value of their lands; but in advertising Canada and the North-West, and spending a large amount in so doing, they unquestionably performed an inestimable service to the Dominion as a whole.

No doubt Mr. Geo. Stephen and his colleagues were at first actuated by a desire either to place their lands on the market,

or to establish their value as security upon which to raise money, but this does not detract from the service they rendered to Canada by their efforts. It is not improbable, too, that the Canadian Pacific directors foresaw that by inducing settlement along their line and thereby proving the railway to be a sound investment through assured traffic, they would be the better able to float their bonds when necessary. Whatever may have been their object, they shewed good policy in undertaking a vigorous immigration campaign from the start, and Canada benefited thereby.

But the C.P.R. lands could not be sold in any quantity while Government lands alongside them were being given away, and the Dominion was, therefore, directly the gainer by the advertising methods of the railway company, while the latter only reaped an indirect advantage. It was found that the land grant bonds of the Canadian Pacific Railway, although received at par for Company's lands, could not be negotiated to any extent, and this source of revenue was not available.

In the autumn of 1883, \$65,000,000 of the capital stock had been sold, and nearly all the proceeds expended in construction. The road was bitterly assailed at home and abroad by opponents of the Government, and by rival interests, to such an extent that it was found impossible, through the feeling of distrust created by the attacks made upon the company, to sell the remainder of the stock. It began to look as if work would have to come to a standstill, and the intense strain upon the men who had staked their all and had fought the fight against fearful odds, will probably never be known. The worst feature of the struggle was, that the opposition encountered came chiefly from Canadian sources, and was there-

fore the harder to overcome, as it influenced the money interests of Britain against the road.

At this stage, the company decided to support their stock by purchasing from the Dominion Government a guarantee of three per cent. per annum for ten years, for the \$65,000,000 sold, and making similar provision for the \$35,000,000 unsold. The cost of this terminable annuity was \$16,091,152, calculated at four per cent., to meet twenty semi-annual payments of one and a half per cent. each. Of this amount, \$8,710,240 was paid in cash, and security given for the early payment of the remainder. But even this stroke of policy did not succeed as was expected, and the stock with the Government guarantee could not be sold at an adequate price. The money market in London was in an unsettled state about this time, and the attacks on the company continued, so that matters were brought to a crisis, and for a time the success of the Canadian Pacific Railway hung in the balance.

Mr. Geo. Stephen, Mr. Donald A. Smith, and their immediate colleagues, had stood nobly by the enterprise, and for a time it seemed as if all the great sacrifices they had made, and all their untiring efforts, were to go for naught. The company then, early in 1884, applied to the Government to tide them over their difficulty by granting them a loan of \$22,500,000. This amount, added to the balance due upon the annuity purchase, made a total loan of \$29,880,000, to secure which the Government took a lien upon the entire property of the Company. At this time, the immediate colleagues of Mr. Geo. Stephen stood by him nobly in his efforts to carry the vast enterprise through, and it was on this, as on several other occasions, that Mr. Donald A. Smith proved his loyalty and devotion to the great cause, and to his friend Mr. Stephen, who

was at the head of it, by pledging his means and otherwise assisting at a critical time. It is an open secret, that Mr. Geo. Stephen himself pledged the larger portion of his wealth to aid the undertaking, which, through the efforts of himself and friends, has placed Canada in the enviable position it enjoys to-day.

In connection with this loan of \$22,500,000, it may be mentioned that in order to obtain feeders and distributors for the transcontinental line, the company had commenced the construction and acquisition of a railway system in Ontario and Quebec, and branch lines in Manitoba, with a total mileage as great as their contract line, and their entire interest in these feeders and branch lines was transferred to the Government, as well as their land grant, as security for the loan. They in fact stripped themselves of everything in order that the work might go on. Further than this, in consideration of the loan, the company agreed to complete the transcontinental line by May 1st, 1886, or five years in advance of the time fixed by the contract.

Railway construction was now pushed forward with extraordinary rapidity, an average of about five hundred miles per annum being built about this time. This activity on the part of the company meant a large expenditure of money, and the loan obtained from the Government was soon exhausted. In addition to this, it was found that the first lien of the Government over all their property effectually barred the sale of their stock. It was found necessary, therefore, to once more apply to the Government for aid, and we cannot better illustrate the position of the company at this time than by quoting the letter from Mr. Geo. Stephen, the President, addressed to the Honorable the Minister of Railways and Canals:—

## CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY,

MONTREAL, 18th March, 1885.

SIR—In view of the approaching completion of the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Callander to the Pacific Ocean, according to the contract entered into by this company, and of the consequent necessity for making timely and adequate provision for the unexpectedly large volume of traffic which the line has already developed, as well as for the great increase which it is now certain will take place on the opening of the through line in the spring of 1886, the company finds itself compelled to seek for some re-arrangement of its finances which will enable it to procure the necessary capital required for this purpose. I have therefore the honor, on behalf of the Board of Directors of this company, to submit to you some observations upon the position of the company, and offer some suggestions as to the necessary remedial measures for restoring to the company the free use and control of its own resources, and at the same time of practically providing for the repayment of the loan of last session, and relieving the Government finally and forever from all responsibility for, or connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It will be remembered that under the provisions of the Act of last session the Government, as security for the repayment of the loan to the company, deemed it necessary to take a statutory lien, not only on the line contracted to be built, but on the whole property of the company, including its steamers and branch lines, practically stripping it of every resource it possessed, and leaving it without any means of providing for the important purposes of the enterprise, outside of the mere work of construction of the main line from Callander to the Pacific Ocean, and its equipment to the extent contemplated by the contract, except its unsold stock. That resource, the only one the company had left, was rendered unavailable, owing, to some extent, to the provision in the Act by which in case of default on the part of the company in performing the conditions on which the loan was granted, the Government could practically confiscate the whole property of the company, but also in a greater measure to the unfair and malevolent attacks of the enemies of the company acting in concert with some, happily only some, of the political opponents of the Government, aided by a venal section of the newspaper press of the country.

From these quarters, the company and its resources have been unceasingly assailed and discredited, during the whole of the past year, in the most unprincipled and unpatriotic manner. A large portion of the country traversed by its lines has been decried as a barren and worthless desert; the advantages of the North-West as a field for immigration have

been depreciated, and attempts have been made to create the impression that the line when opened could not possibly pay its working expenses, and that the Government would be compelled to take possession of it and operate it at a loss to the country variously estimated at from \$3,000,000 to \$8,000 000 annually. In fact, the enemies of the company, both at home and abroad, availed themselves of the stringency of the provisions of the Loan Act, and of persistent and unfounded misrepresentations of the country and of the conduct of the company, for the scarcely concealed purpose of wrecking the enterprise.

By these means investors were alarmed, the stock was prevented from becoming, as was expected, a means of providing the company with the funds necessary for carrying on its business efficiently, and the credit of the company was all but destroyed.

The company, it will be remembered, at the time of the passage of the Act, earnestly, but ineffectually, remonstrated against the severity of the conditions on which the loan was granted ; especially pointing out the damaging effect on the future credit of the company of the stringent and inequitable character of the remedy taken by the Government, in the event of default by the company, and their apprehensions in this respect have been fully realized.

The shares of the company at the time of the passing of the Act last session were selling at about \$60 per \$100 share, and were expected to advance to \$75 or \$80. Shortly afterwards they began to decline, and they are now quoted under \$40. And under the circumstances stated, it is not surprising that the stock of the company should fail to command the confidence of the investing public.

The amount of the loan provided for by the act of last session was \$22,500,000 ; \$7,500,000 of which were appropriated to pay existing obligations, leaving \$15,000,000 for the purpose of completing the contract. This amount, plus \$12,910,000 unpaid subsidy, then in the hands of the Government, gave a total of \$27,710,000, applicable on'y to the work under contract. The mode provided by the Act for obtaining payment out of this fund rendered it impossible that any part of it could be drawn from the Government for any purpose except for the bare construction, with the stipulated amount of rolling stock. Before any such payment could be made, an estimate was required to be prepared by the Government engineers, as the work proceeded, of the proportionate value of the work done ; and the amount of such estimate, less ten per cent., was paid to the company. But in order to make the railway a first-class carrying power, with all the appurtenances and appliances necessary to enable it to compete successfully with the best of the American transcontinental lines, much had to be done and provided, besides the mere work of construction and equipment, according to the contract, and these requirements are not

materially diminished by the fact, which is admitted on all hands, that the whole line has been constructed of a quality and character far exceeding the standard agreed upon between the Government and the company.

Upon the opening of the railway in the spring of next year, it cannot dispense with a full provision for its efficient and vigorous operation, without great injury to its prestige and future reputation. Its road-bed for the 2,900 miles from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, its facilities for handling traffic, and its equipment, must be of the highest class, not inferior to those of any other transcontinental line, otherwise it will not command the traffic, and the enemies of the enterprise will take a delight in pointing to it as a reproach both to the country and the company.

For these purposes, the usual improvements required upon all new railways have to be made. Terminal facilities require to be provided, workshops have to be built and furnished with expensive machinery, elevators require to be constructed, and many other things have to be done to provide for the unexpected development of traffic already reached, and for the still greater volume which is certain to follow the opening of the line. Many of these things had to be done at once and could be most economically provided concurrently with construction. It would have been unwise and improvident in the extreme to have postponed such provision until the last rail should be laid, and the company accordingly felt obliged to proceed to some extent with the most important of these improvements. In doing so it relied upon the proceeds of its unsold stock. It could not obtain one dollar for any of these purposes under the act of last session, the provisions of which, as has been shown, were confined to the actual work of creating the bed of the railway, laying the track and supplying it with a certain quantity of rolling stock. The expenditure during the past year, outside of the contract, for the purposes referred to, amounts to about \$5,000,000; and in addition, in order to keep faith with the shareholders, provision had to be made for the payment of the promised extra dividend, and interest had to be paid amounting to about \$3,000,000 more. And as it was found impossible to realize upon the unsold stock, some of the directors resident in Montreal gratuitously came to the assistance of the company, pledging their personal credit and their own private securities for the benefit of the company, and so the money for the latter expenditure was found.

In the meantime, the work of the contract has been carried on with the utmost energy and rapidity, and it will be completed before the stipulated time, the money remaining in the hands of the Government amounting on the 31st December last to \$8,726,919, being sufficient to complete the performance of all the obligations of the company under the contract. As was expected, there has been a large saving effected on the cost of the

work on the mountain section, but the advantage thus obtained has been absorbed in extra expenditure on the Lake Superior section.

To enable the company to procure the additional capital that will be required for the purposes indicated, I beg respectfully to propose :—

1. That the \$35,000,000 unsold stock shall be cancelled.

2. That authority be granted to the company to issue in lieu thereof \$35,000,000 four per cent fifty-year first mortgage bonds secured by a first lien on the main line of the railway from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, covering all terminals built, or to be built, and all equipment and rolling stock now on the line or that may be hereafter put upon it, together with all its tolls and revenues, subject, of course, to the existing mortgages on the line from Montreal to Callander.

3. The Government to accept \$15,000,000 of these bonds in part settlement of the loan to the company, the balance of the loan to be paid off by a reduction of the land grant to an extent necessary to cover the amount of the balance of the loan, at the rate of \$2 per acre, which is 46 cents per acre less than the lands already sold have netted the company in cash.

The loan of last session would thus be practically paid off, and the company would have in its treasury ample resources from its first mortgage and land grant bonds, to provide for its present wants, as well as for the future development of its business ; and with its credit restored and re-established in the confidence of its shareholders, it would then be in a position to proceed, 1st, with the much wanted extension of the Manitoba, South-Western Railway ; 2nd, with the completion of the line to Sault Ste. Marie ; 3rd, to secure in some way a connection with the city and harbor of Quebec ; 4th, with reasonable aid from the Government to extend the Canadian Pacific system to the ocean ports of the Maritime Provinces ; 5th, it would also be in a position to aid indirectly in securing the early completion of its Ontario Division to the Detroit River, and at the same time removing for ever all necessity for any further applications to the Government for assistance on the part of the company. Its further necessities and the success or failure of the enterprise would thus be entirely the affair of the shareholders themselves.

4. To enable the company to provide for present wants, and to give it time to realize on its securities, the Government to make a temporary loan of \$5,000,000, for a term not exceeding eighteen months, on the security of the postal subsidy, payable by the Government to the company, supplemented by a deposit with the Government of \$5,000,000, four per cent first mortgage bonds.

5. If the foregoing suggestion is adopted an amount of the Land Grant Bonds in the hands of the Government equivalent to the number of acres deducted from the land grant, must be cancelled ; the balance of those bonds then remaining to be returned to the company.

I regret that circumstances should have placed it in the power of the enemies of the company to compel it to make this application to the Government, but hope the suggestions now offered will receive favorable consideration. Their adoption would have the effect of gradually restoring the credit of the company, and of placing the enterprise in a condition to do its work efficiently and successfully without involving the Government in any permanent additional outlay on behalf of the company, and actually providing for the practical repayment of the existing loan.

In conclusion, it only remains for me to add that in making this application to the Government I do so with the fullest faith and confidence in the present and future money-earning power of the enterprise. I am satisfied that the resources of the company are amply sufficient faithfully and honestly to discharge every obligation it has incurred, whether to the Government or to others ; and that the Canadian Pacific Railway, upon its final completion and equipment, will be one of the most important and prosperous railway properties on this continent.

Statements are appended showing the amounts expended on improvements on main line and branches, rolling-stock, etc., in 1884, beyond the requirements of the contract ; and an estimate of the probable expenditure for similar purposes up to May, 1886, with several other statements bearing on some of the matters referred to in the letter.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. STEPHEN,

*President.*

The Government agreed to accept \$20,000,000 of the first mortgage bonds as security for so much of the Company's debt, and the security of the whole unsold lands of the company (over 20,000,000 acres) for the balance of \$9,980,000. Of the \$15,000,000 bonds remaining, the company deposited with the Government, \$8,000,000, as security for the temporary loan of \$5,000,000, and negotiated the remainder, paying back the temporary loan within a few months, and thus releasing \$8,000,000 of bonds.

In 1885, matters took a favorable turn for the company, the opposition of stock jobbers and rivals having subsided when

it was seen that the Dominion Government was determined to sustain the railway at all hazards. Indeed not only did the existence of the Government depend upon the successful carrying through of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but failure on the part of the company at that time would have brought on a financial crisis in Canada, which would have overwhelmed the country with disaster. It was the duty, therefore, of the Government to uphold the company, especially as everything pointed to their loyalty in the performance of all their obligations.

In March, 1886, the company proposed to pay off their indebtedness to the Government, returning all the cash advanced upon the \$20,000,000 bonds, and surrendering 6,793,014 acres of land at \$1.50 per acre for the balance. This, the Government accepted, and being satisfied that no security was required for continuous operation, surrendered the \$5,000,000 land grant bonds held as security for that purpose.

In 1887, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company became free of all indebtedness to the Government, and no legislation was asked for in that year to aid them in their work. The monopoly clauses in the charter were exciting so much opposition throughout the country, however, that it was thought best to arrange with the company for their surrender. To effect this, the Government guaranteed to pay interest for fifty years on an issue of \$15,000,000, three and a half per cent. bonds secured upon the company's unsold lands, about 15,000,000 acres. The Government became a trustee and guaranteed the interest for half a century, but not the principal, unless placed in funds for that purpose by the Company.

This is a brief outline of the financial arrangements forced

upon the company by the difficulties which beset their path, and that they succeeded in surmounting all the obstacles, is due to the skill and energy of Mr. Geo. Stephen, Donald A. Smith, R. B. Angus, and their immediate colleagues, and to the loyalty of the Canadian Government in standing by the enterprise during its darkest hours.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### STRUGGLE FOR "MANITOBA'S RIGHTS."

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR CAUCHON dissolved the legislature by proclamation, on December 6th, 1882. It was his last official act, as his successor, the Honorable James Cox Aikins took office on the eighth of the same month. The general elections which followed were contested on strictly party lines, and for the first time the rallying cries of "Tory" and "Grit" were used in a Manitoba election campaign. The elections, which took place on January 23rd, 1883, resulted in the return of twenty Conservatives and ten Liberals, Mr. Norquay being sustained by a two-thirds majority in a House of thirty members.

Chief Justice Wood died on October 7th, 1882. He was succeeded by the Honorable Lewis Wallbridge, who was sworn in on January 13th, 1883. Judge Miller resigned about the same time, and was succeeded by Judge (afterwards Chief Justice) Taylor.

A great deal of dissatisfaction was felt in the Province owing to the delay of the Government in granting patents to those entitled to them, even after their claims had been recommended by the local land agents. Homesteaders who had faithfully fulfilled their three years settlement duties, had sometimes to wait one, two, and even three years before they could sell, mortgage, or otherwise realize on their holdings.



The Marquis of Lansdowne.



The loan and investment companies, too, were aggrieved, as they could not advance money on the security of unpatented lands, and their business was materially restricted in consequence of the dilatory action of the authorities. A numerous-ly signed petition, asking for an amendment of the law, or a simplification of the methods of issuing patents, was forwarded to Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of the Interior, and when the Dominion House met in February the Lands Act was amended in that and other important particulars to meet the requirements of the country. By the amended act, a person who had squatted upon unsurveyed land was given the priority of entry when the land had been surveyed, provided the land upon which he had settled was land available for homesteading. The time within which the settler had to go into actual occupation of his homestead was extended from two to six months after he made entry, and homesteaders making entry after the 1st of September were allowed until the 1st of June following to go into possession. Another clause provided that persons who had obtained patents for their homesteads by the performance of the settlement, and other duties required, might enter for and obtain second homesteads. Homestead inspectors were appointed, whose duty it was to visit and report upon the progress being made by the settlers. The delay in granting patents was obviated by power to issue them being vested in the Department of the Interior, instead of, as formerly, their having to pass through three departments before being finally granted. In order still further to meet the requirements of the settlers, and enable them to sell or raise money on their lands as soon as possible after they became entitled to patents, permission was given them to "dispose of and convey, assign or transfer, his right

or title" in both homesteads and pre-emptions, as soon as they received certificates from the local agent, countersigned by the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, that the lands had been recommended for patent. As it was considered that 160 acres was as much land as an ordinary farmer could profitably cultivate, and that the additional pre-emption was often left unimproved and reserved for sale, a clause provided that the right of pre-emption should cease after 1st January, 1885. With regard to school lands, it was provided that they should be offered for sale at auction at an upset price, whenever there was a sufficient demand for them, the proceeds to be invested in Dominion securities, and the interest to be paid to the Provincial or Territorial Government for the purposes of education. Sir John Macdonald stated that representations had come from the Government of Manitoba that the school lands of the Province should be handed over to their management, but "hitherto the Government have not seen their way to go so far. That Province is large, and its population small, and the temptation to deal with that magnificent grant for present purposes, to meet present exigencies is very great; and the Government think they ought not to denude themselves of this sacred trust, handed over to them as trustees of this great fund for the education of the people in the illimitable future."

The proposed increase in the duty on agricultural implements from 25 to 35 per cent., caused widespread discussion and expressions of condemnation. It was stated that the Canadian manufacturers were not making implements suitable to the heavy soil and thicker straw of the prairie, and that the increase would prove a serious drawback to the western farmers. The effect of these remonstrances was the postponement

of the date of the new duty becoming effective until the 1st May, 1883, in order to give the people of the North-West time to import such implements as they might require from the United States. It was hoped that Canadian makers would be able to furnish a sufficient quantity of machinery of the proper strength and fitness to meet all the requirements by the following year. During the year 1882, the outlines of 800 new townships had been run and 800 townships had been subdivided; and in 1883, 800 more were outlined and 1,200 sub-divided into quarter sections. It was therefore found necessary to vote the sum of \$600,000 for surveys, for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1884. The surveys of 1883 included 27,000,000 acres, or 168,750 homesteads of 160 acres each. This, with former surveys, made the total surveyed area sufficient to provide 380,399 farms of the regulation size, capable of sustaining an adult agricultural population, on the basis of three persons to a homestead, of 1,241,197. The work of the geological survey was being vigorously prosecuted, the explorations covering large portions of Manitoba, Keewatin, the Territories, and British Columbia.

Up to this time the Minister of the Interior had been ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, but the development of the North-West had so increased that it was found expedient to place the Department of Indian Affairs under another minister when such action was deemed expedient by the Governor-General in Council. The almost total disappearance of the buffalo rendered it imperative that the Indians should be induced to settle upon and cultivate their reserves, and measures were adopted to promote such arrangements. Indian industrial schools were established at Battleford, Qu'Appelle and St. Albert, in which it was proposed to educate the Indian

boys in farming and useful trades, such as blacksmithing, carpentry, shoe-making, &c. Other schools have been established at various points since, and they have had a decidedly beneficial effect, not only on the pupils (who have been found intelligent and quick to learn), but upon the whole Indian population, through the examples furnished by the young men on their return to their homes on the reserves.

Another important measure of the session, and one which was looked upon with disfavor by the North-West, was an act to further amend the Consolidated Railway Act. The clause which was objected to provided, "That whereas it was enacted by the British North America Act 'that the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to such local works and undertakings as, although wholly situate within a province, are, before or after their execution, declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada, or for the advantage of two or more provinces; and whereas (certain railways named and their branches) were for the general advantage of Canada, and for the better and more uniform government of all such works, and for the greater safety, convenience and advantage of the public, it is desirable that Parliament should so declare. Therefore, it is hereby declared that the said lines of railway, namely, the Intercolonial, Grand Trunk, North Shore, Northern, Hamilton and North-Western, Canada Southern, Great Western, Credit Valley, Ontario and Quebec, and Canadian Pacific railways, are works for the general advantage of Canada, and each and every branch line or railway connecting with or crossing the said lines of railway, or any one of them, is a work for the general advantage of Canada.' " In introducing the bill, Sir Charles Tupper, Minister of Railways, explained the necessity for the

enactment on the ground that without it the legislation of Parliament did not touch the leading lines of railway, and the "necessity had forced itself upon the Government of having these leading lines of railway brought under the control of this Parliament, so that we might make such regulations as in the judgment of this House might be from time to time considered necessary in the interest of the public." Mr. Blake, leader of the Opposition, complained that the definition was vague and unsatisfactory, but appeared to include practically every railway, because they all connected, directly or indirectly, with some of the leading lines which were named. He regarded the proposal "as one calculated practically to destroy the efficiency of the provincial jurisdiction and control in the important question of provincial railways. Much has been done by the provinces in the way of the creation of local railways, and to take the whole of these works into the control of this Parliament, simply upon the theory that, because they connect with leading lines, they are therefore to be declared to be for the general advantage of Canada, is to violate the letter and spirit of the constitution on this subject." Notwithstanding the objections raised against it, the act passed. It was denounced in Manitoba as "a measure which riveted the chains of monopoly on the province," and there is no doubt that its presence in the statutes militated against the incorporation and construction of local railways during the years that followed its enactment.

On 8th May, 1882, an order-in-council was passed dividing the North-West Territory into four postal districts, viz.: Assiniboia, with an area of eighty-nine thousand five hundred and thirty-five square miles; Saskatchewan, one hundred and seven thousand and ninety-two square miles; Alberta, one

hundred and six thousand one hundred square miles; and Athabasca, one hundred and four thousand five hundred square miles. On the 27th March following, the capital of the North-West Territories was removed from Battleford, Saskatchewan, to Regina, Assiniboia. On the same date a proclamation was issued erecting the following registration districts, named from their headquarters:—Prince Albert, with 55,000 square miles, in the District of Saskatchewan; Touchwood, 13,680 square miles; Regina, 14,180 square miles; and Souris, 12,240 square miles;—all in the District of Assiniboia; to which were afterwards added Calgary, with 37,000 square miles, and Edmonton, 68,000 square miles, both in the District of Alberta. Early in 1883, a Dominion Lands Office was established at Regina, and later in the year another was opened at Calgary. The operation of the Acts respecting vagrancy, the Act for the suppression of voluntary and extra-judicial oaths, and the Animals Contagious Diseases Act, of 1869, was extended to the Territories, and the Districts of Alberta and Assiniboia were declared to be infected places, within the meaning of the last-named Act. This latter measure was rendered necessary in order to prevent the importation of cattle suffering from the dreaded pleuro-pneumonia from the ranches of the Western States and Territories.

In March, 1882, the even-numbered sections (Government lands available for homesteading), situated within one mile on each side of the Canadian Pacific Railway, were withdrawn from homestead and pre-emption entry, and in July, 1882, all the lands south of the twenty-four mile belt were also withdrawn. Great exception was taken to this action on the part of the Government, which, by locking up the land adjacent to the railway, gave travellers the idea that the land not being

cultivated, as far as they could see, was not fit for cultivation, and so, it was said, injured the reputation of the country and retarded settlement; while the reservation of the land south of the railway belt was declared to be unnecessary and unwise. The object of the Government in both cases was explained to be the exclusion of speculators, who would have eagerly seized on the lands abutting on the located line of the railway, in the hope of securing a station or a town site within their holding, and so obtaining an exceptional value for such lots, while they could abandon those which proved less profitable. In southern Manitoba there was considerable doubt as to the number and location of the numerous railways projected, and speculators were on the watch for lands which might afterwards be required for railway purposes. The amendments to the Lands Act, passed during the Session of 1883, provided very fully against any large percentage of the public lands getting into the hands of speculators; and on 29th November, 1883, the Government threw open the even-numbered sections south of the railway belt to homestead and pre-emption entry on the usual conditions of three years residence and cultivation: and the sections within a mile of the railway, on the additional condition that the settler should in the first year prepare 10 acres for crop, in the second year crop the 10 acres, and prepare 15 more, and in the third year crop the 25 acres and prepare 15 more. On the same date an order-in-council was passed opening for sale to *bona fide* settlers only, at the rate of \$5 per acre, the even-numbered sections in the Regina reserve, an area withdrawn from settlement for Government purposes when Regina was selected as the capital. No person was allowed to purchase more than 160 acres, and a rebate of half the purchase money was to be

granted to a settler who cultivated a quarter of his land within three years, in the same manner as was provided in relation to the land in the mile belt. If the settler did not so cultivate a quarter of his land in three years, the patent would not issue to him, and the Minister of the Interior might cancel the sale, repaying the purchase money, without interest.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the question of immigration from Great Britain and the European countries, and a number of schemes were proposed for the promotion of that object. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company made the British Government an offer to settle 50,000 Irish, in families of five each, upon stocked and equipped farms in the neighborhood of Winnipeg, provided the Government loaned them a million pounds, without interest, for ten years, in furtherance of the project. The Imperial Government favored the proposal, but required the guarantee of the Dominion Government for the repayment of the loan. The latter declined to give official sanction to the scheme, and it was, unfortunately, abandoned.

The year 1881-2 will long be remembered as the "Boom years," during which the people of Winnipeg, and in fact of the whole North-West, existed in a fool's paradise: esteeming themselves the possessors of inexhaustible millions, which proved to be but Dead Sea fruit, creations of their fevered imaginations, phantom fortunes, which faded away as suddenly as a prairie mirage.

The entrance of the Canadian Pacific Railway into Winnipeg marked the inauguration of this extraordinary speculative movement. The citizens had looked forward to the establishment of railway connection with the south and east as the dawn of a new era, an event which would ensure, beyond a

peradventure, the future prosperity and greatness of the young metropolis. When the first express train steamed into the city, they recognized that the first part of their dream had been realized, and they looked forward to its complete fulfilment as an accomplished fact. A spirit of dauntless enterprise and confident speculation took possession of them, conservative business methods were cast aside, and they abandoned themselves to a feverish recklessness, in which the boldness of the gambler obliterated the standards of legitimate commerce. The professional speculator found a promising field for the exercise of his talents, and he proceeded to cultivate it to the best advantage. All classes of the community had caught the infection—the statesman, the judge, the lawyer, the minister of religion, the doctor, the teacher, the merchant, the mechanic and the laborer, mingled in the race for wealth, neglecting or abandoning their pursuits to try a cast with fortune.

Early in 1881, certain lots in the vicinity of the railway station were sold at considerably increased prices, and owners of adjoining properties began to ask enormous sums for them. Land values became inflated to an inconceivable degree. Properties that had gone a begging for purchasers a few weeks before, suddenly became "bonanzas," eagerly sought after by a rabble of frenzied buyers who outbid each other in extravagant ratio for the coveted prizes. A lot that sold for \$1,000 on Monday, would, very likely, command \$10,000 on the Saturday following. Fortunes were made or marred in an hour. A few wise ones, satisfied with moderate profits, sold out their real estate and invested their winnings in legitimate business, or in stable securities, but the majority, lured by the smiles of the beckoning goddess, re-invested in margins on city lots or

projected town sites, and shortly experienced the bitter disappointment of seeing their original capital and all their profits ruthlessly swept away when the inevitable crash came.

Winnipeg was the centre of the boom, from which the evil radiated in all directions. Towns were surveyed all over the Province and Territories, and lots in them were disposed of at auction at fabulous prices. The town site mania was aptly described by a railway conductor, who had taken a trip to the end of the C.P.R. track, on his return to the east. Asked how the country was progressing, he said: "Well, it's the greatest country I ever struck. There's a new town about every three miles from Winnipeg to Moose Jaw. Wherever there's a siding, that's a town; and where there's a tank and a siding, that's a city."

The opening of 1882 found Winnipeg overcrowded with a throng of speculators from all parts of the world. The stories of the immense fortunes made in a day had spread everywhere, and thousands flocked to the new El Dorado. Capital was poured in from Eastern Canada and Great Britain; every other house on Main-street was a real estate office, or auction room, and day and night the city was a scene of wild excitement. But it was plain to many that the tension could not last much longer. A serious railway blockade to the south and east, caused by snow and floods, followed by the overflow of the Red River, impeded traffic, delayed immigration, and stayed the general progress so materially, that people became alarmed for the future. An attempt was made to boom Edmonton town lots, and, in some mysterious way a panic set in, the gamblers stampeded, and the boom collapsed. Winnipeg had received a check, but she was not disheartened. Her progress, phenomenal from the time of her birth as a city, was

marvellous during the boom years. Her population doubled in twelve months, her assessment increased from \$4,000,000 in 1880, to \$9,196,435 in 1881, and \$30,433,270 in 1882. At the close of 1882, it was estimated that \$5,000,000 worth of buildings had been erected during that year. For the eleven months ending 30th November, the value of imports entered at the Winnipeg Customs House was \$8,222,928. The city expended \$125,000 on street improvements, \$60,000 for a new city hall, \$60,000 for fire stations, and \$10,000 on miscellaneous civic works. The city was first lit with gas on 1st June, 1882, and in the same year two miles of street railway were built and operated. The telephone and electric fire alarm systems were installed, the former in 1881, the latter in the year following. The city had, at the close of 1882, eight chartered banks besides the Dominion Government Savings Bank, and seven private banking firms. Twelve loan companies had established agencies, and had advanced some \$7,500,000 on mortgages, about one-third of which was on city property and the balance on farming lands, the rate of interest being ten per cent. Seventeen fire insurance companies did a business aggregating \$125,000. The trade of the city had developed wonderfully; every branch of business being represented, a number of wholesale houses had been opened, and a large jobbing trade was established. The retail trade increased four-fold during the year, and the character of the buildings in which it was conducted had improved in a noticeable extent. The C.P.R. expended \$500,000 on their station, freight sheds, round-house, workshops, and other buildings in Winnipeg during 1882. Their land department sold 1,255,640 acres of farm lands for \$3,920,080, and city and town lots in Brandon, High Bluff, Carberry, Virden, Chater and Gretna, aggregating \$712,-

093. They also sold 5,000,000 acres of their North-West lands to the Canadian North-West Land Company. Religion and education were not neglected during the boom days, for, during 1882, \$65,000 were expended on churches and \$116,000 on school buildings.

Many pages could be filled with descriptions of this incident in our history, but we deem it unnecessary to dwell upon it, and the period of uncertainty and depression which followed. Years elapsed before its disheartening effects were fully eradicated. Those of our readers who participated in its exciting events, when life was lived at high pressure, and all the future was a bright vista of sunshine and millions, can now calmly recall that portion of their existence as a fantastic dream, as unreal as the glittering transformation scene of some spectacle or extravaganza.

The Manitoba Legislature assembled on 17th May, 1883. It was opened by the Hon. J. C. Aikins, the new Lieutenant-Governor, and the Hon. Alexander Murray, member for Assiniboia, was elected Speaker of the House.

In moving the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, Dr. D. H. Harrison, Member for Minnedosa, described the position of Manitoba with regard to the other provinces of the Dominion, in an able and explicit manner. He declared that the anomalous position occupied by Manitoba in the Confederation called for the readjustment and amendment of the terms of union. He called attention to the fact that while the other provinces had control of their lands, from which they derived an income sufficient for the administration of Civil Government, in addition to their annual subsidies from the general fund of the Dominion, Manitoba was offered the paltry sum of \$45,000 annually in lieu of her lands, of

which she had been unlawfully deprived. In view of the parsimonious spirit in which Manitoba had been, and was being treated by the Dominion, he commended the resolution foreshadowed in the Speech, but he contended that the Government should go further, and insist upon a rearrangement with regard to the public lands. The existing arrangements implied that the question could only be reopened in 1891, but it was unfair that Manitoba should be hampered and her material progress delayed for that length of time; her necessities called for a more speedy relief. While proud of being a member of the Dominion Confederation, Manitoba should insist upon being treated as an equal with the other Provinces. So far she had enjoyed an empty honor. For the privilege of remaining in Confederation, Manitoba was actually paying more than the other members of the Dominion. Prince Edward Island paid, per capita, \$1.82; Ontario, \$3.82; Nova Scotia, \$3.99; New Brunswick, \$4.54; Quebec, \$6.74; British Columbia, \$13.72; and Manitoba, \$16. With regard to the disallowance of local railway charters, the Government took the following ground: That, under the railway clause of the British North America Act, no Province had a right to grant charters to railways to extend beyond its boundaries, or to connect at its boundary with a foreign railway. Manitoba had a right to charter lines of railway from point to point within her boundaries, but such right applied only to the original boundaries of the Province. In 1881 the boundaries had been extended, and the added territory was granted subject to such conditions as might be included in the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company: Manitoba had agreed to these conditions, and she was bound to abide by them. In the cases of the Emerson and North-western, the General Railway Act,

and the Tramway Act, these conditions had been proposed to be violated, and those acts had been properly disallowed by the Governor-General.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Thomas Greenway, attacked the Government on their policy, charging them with insincerity, inasmuch as they had abandoned their former position on the question of disallowance, and now endeavored to condone the action of the Dominion Government in their arbitrary disregard of Provincial rights; meekly accepting an immaterial increase in subsidy, instead of insisting upon the transfer of the public lands to the Province; and seeking an increase to territory, when the small revenue at their command was insufficient to properly carry on the government of the Province in its present area. Mr. Jackson, Member for Rockwood, moved the following resolution, in amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne:—  
“This House most humbly prays that your Honor may be pleased to present to His Excellency the Governor-General the humble protest of this House against the disallowance of recent acts of this Legislature regarding railways, and to represent to His Excellency that this House cannot but regard the disallowance of acts wholly within the legislative authority of this Province as an infringement upon the rights and privileges of its Legislature; and this House begs most humbly to declare its intention of insisting upon the right of the Legislature to the free exercise of all the powers and privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Legislatures of the Provinces with reference to railways, and upon its right to authorize the construction of railways between any points within this Province and to the utmost limits thereof, save in so far as this Legislature voluntarily accepted certain limitations of its author-

ity within the territory added to this Province in the year 1881."

In speaking to this resolution, Mr. A. C. Killam, (afterwards Judge of the Queen's Bench), member for South Winnipeg, said:—"The only position we can ever safely take here, was, that the powers granted by our constitution should be exercised by us to the fullest degree, and that we should not be willing to allow that Governors-in-Council can constitutionally take from us those exclusive powers of the Legislature which the constitution has given us—some of which were contained in the clause in the British North America Act, respecting railways. The constitution does not intend the Governors-in-Council should presume to revise the acts of this Legislature." Referring to a speech made in the Dominion Parliament by Sir Charles Tupper, Mr. Killam remarked, "that the Honorable the Minister of Railways, had taken other ground than that taken by those defending disallowance, that because the Dominion Government assumed to make a contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, therefore, the Legislature of Manitoba was bound by it. Sir Charles Tupper went further; he took the ground that the Dominion Government having from time to time expressed an intention (when the C.P.R. was a Government work) of not allowing Manitoba to authorize the construction of lines to compete with the great national line, that the Canadian Pacific Company was entitled to the same protection, on grounds separated altogether from the railway company; and that being entitled to it, the Dominion Government had seen fit to exercise the power of disallowance. Sir Charles had closed his speech with a very significant remark. He said:—'Shall it be said, that the interests of Manitoba and the North-West

shall be sacrificed to the policy of Canada ?' And to this he replied :—' I say, if necessary, yes.' Such was the extreme grounds taken by the apologists of disallowance. It was not to be regarded as a mere utterance of the Minister of Railways—it was something more. Reference had been made to the jealousy of Manitoba existing in the Eastern Provinces. The expression of the Minister of Railways might be regarded as an outcome of that feeling—the feeling that they had bought Manitoba and that she was, in some respects, their colony, to be dealt with as they deem fit. The House should, in unequivocal terms, resolve that the privileges of the Province must be preserved, and that they would not allow the rights of Manitoba to be trampled upon at the dictation of the older Provinces."

The Hon. John Norquay defended the Government policy. He sketched the several negotiations, regarding better terms, between the Province and the Dominion, and their results, pointing out that in 1870, Manitoba's subsidy was only \$67,000, in three years it had been increased to \$72,000, in another three years it was made \$90,000, after a further period of three years it was increased to \$105,000, and now, after thirteen years, it had reached the sum of \$227,000. The latter arrangement was only a temporary one, subject to re-adjustment at any time, and not for ten years, as the leader of the Opposition asserted. He reiterated his opinions regarding Provincial rights, and declared that he would support a Bill for the re-enactment of the disallowed railway charters, if they were introduced in the House ; provided the powers sought by their provisions did not conflict with the existing laws, or that they did not cover the granting of powers that were *ultra vires* of a Provincial Legislature. While deprecating

ing any attempt of the Dominion to curtail any powers which belonged of right to the Province, he would not be a party to the passing of clap-trap railway legislation calculated to delude the people of Manitoba. He pointed out the benefits that would accrue to the Province from the acquisition of the territory to the east and north, one-eighteenth of which would be added to the school lands, which would add materially to the revenue.

The amendment was negatived by 18 to 8.

During the same session, the following resolution, introduced by Hon. Mr. Norquay, was carried unanimously:—"That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient, in the best interests of the province, that a convention of delegates, composed of members of the Executive Councils of the several provinces of Canada, be asked to take into consideration the best means to be adopted to secure an equitable application of the general provisions of the British North America Act to the different provinces forming the Dominion, and to submit such amendments to the constitution as experience may suggest, with a view to securing greater harmony in the legislative jurisdiction of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures respectively; and also, such a re-arrangement of the sources of revenue as will render uniform the basis upon which subsidies are granted to the provinces."

The passing of this resolution by a unanimous vote of the Legislature was a proof of the feeling which prevailed on the question of provincial rights, and, although the proposed convention was never assembled, it was the keynote of the clamor for the abrogation of the "monopoly clause" of the C. P. R. contract, which led to so much strife and bitterness in the years following.

The House was prorogued on 7th July, 1883. Among the acts passed at this session were: An Act to Encourage the Building of Railways in Manitoba, and An Act to Divide the New Added Territory to the Province of Manitoba into Electoral Divisions, and to Provide for its Representation in the Legislative Assembly. A large number of private bills passed at this session, including no less than ten charters for different local railways. The estimates of 1883 are in strong contrast to those of former years, for, notwithstanding the increased rate for all departments of the public service, a substantial surplus was promised. The following is a summary of the estimated receipts and expenditures:—

## REVENUE.

Subsidy from Dominion Government	-	\$227,153 04
Grant from Dominion towards the collection of Agricultural statistics	- -	2,500 00
Balance of grant from Dominion on School appropriation	- - - - -	10,000 00
Fines	- - - - -	1,500 00
Fees	- - - - -	1,000 00
Official Gazette	- - - - -	3,000 00
Surplus from Registry Offices	- - -	16,000 00
Law stamps	- - - - -	30,000 00
Balance of purchase money of old Court House	- - - - -	58,680 00
Rent of old Government offices	- - -	1,000 00
Sale of reclaimed lands	- - - - -	15,000 00
Court House Board, Eastern Judicial District		150,000 00
Court House Board, Western Judicial District		45,000 00
Refund drainage	- - - - -	5,896 00
Total	- - - - -	<u>\$566,729 04</u>

## EXPENDITURE.

Civil Government	-	-	-	-	-	\$55,850 00
Legislation	-	-	-	-	-	28,275 00
Administration of Justice	-	-	-	-	-	47,520 00
Education	-	-	-	-	-	51,354 38
Government Aid Grant	-	-	-	-	-	14,000 00
Agriculture, Statistics, and Health	-	-	-	-	-	16,000 00
Public Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	170,000 00
Aid to Municipalities, Public Works, and						
Bridges	-	-	-	-	-	40,000 00
Drainage	-	-	-	-	-	50,000 00
Elections	-	-	-	-	-	6,000 00
Official Gazette	-	-	-	-	-	2,000 00
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00
Smallpox	-	-	-	-	-	10,000 00
Unforeseen and Unprovided	-	-	-	-	-	5,000 00
Total	-	-	-	-	-	<hr/> \$506,399 38

The summer of 1883 was marked by the occurrence of serious trouble at Rat Portage, between the magistrates and constables of Manitoba and Ontario. The Dominion Government having withdrawn the operation of the Public Works Act, so far as it prohibited the selling of liquor in the vicinity of public works, the Manitoba Government extended the license law to the territory, and granted several hotel and wholesale licenses at Rat Portage. The Ontario magistrates refused to recognize the legality of these licenses, claiming that Ontario only had the right to regulate the liquor traffic. An Ontario constable was arrested on a warrant issued by a Manitoba magistrate, on a charge of selling liquor without a license, and lodged in the Manitoba jail. The Ontario authorities retaliated by

arresting some Manitoba constables who were taking some prisoners to jail on a charge of disorderly conduct, and this was followed by a mob breaking open the Manitoba jail and liberating the prisoners. The newspaper reports of these teapot tempests are highly entertaining. The Conservative papers described the Ontario officials and their following as "rowdies," "toughs," etc., and declared that "every rough in Rat Portage was with the Grits in hopes of free whiskey and pay as specials"—and the soubriquets of some of the "specials" would certainly warrant such a contention, as we find among them such distinguished characters as "Black Jim Reddy, of Montana," "Charley Bull-Pup," "Boston O'Brien, the Slugger," "Patsey Roach," and "Al Mulligan, the Bad Man." The Liberal journals represented every act of the Ontario authorities as being backed up by the efforts of "the respectable citizens," and characterized their opponents as "Tory miscreants," and the *posse comitatus* as a "lawless gang." The position of affairs was aptly described by a correspondent who stated that on 27th July, "Dominion Commissioner McCabe, with two policemen; Ontario Magistrate Burdon, with twenty-five policemen, and Stipendiary Magistrate Brereton, with fifteen policemen, acting on behalf of Manitoba, have been arresting each other all day, and the people have been siding, some with one party and some with another, to the eminent danger of the peace and of loss of life." On the following day the Manitoba jail was set on fire, as it was stated, by "Mowat's lambs."

When news of the "outrage" reached Winnipeg, Honorable Mr. Norquay, accompanied by ex-Judge Millar, Captain Constantine, Chief of Provincial Police, and twenty-five constables, proceeded to Rat Portage and caused the arrest of the ring-leaders, who were conveyed to Winnipeg and committed for

trial on a charge of breaking open the jail and releasing the prisoners.

On the 8th of August, the Manitoba Government passed an Order-in-Council, in which they protested against the interference of Ontario in the disputed territory, as unauthorized and unwarranted, declaring their intention "to continue to enforce their laws, and to maintain existing institutions established thereunder," and threw upon the Ontario Government the responsibility for any evil consequences that might arise from the existing circumstances.

Meetings were held at Rat Portage to discuss the propriety of obtaining municipal incorporation from Ontario, although the town was already incorporated under Manitoba law. The meetings were attended by a disorderly crowd, composed, as one newspaper described them, of "Mowat's carpet-baggers," and "thirty loafers sworn in as Grit-specials at \$2 a day," and by another, as "a Tory band of thirty-four ruffians." Despite the conflicting statements, and the opposition of the friends of Manitoba, a resolution was passed to form a municipality under the jurisdiction of Ontario, and on 22nd August, a reeve and councillors were elected, at a meeting called for that purpose. Rat Portage was thus supplied with dual municipal machinery, three sets of magistrates, and three police forces. The administration of justice would have been farcical at this period, had it not been humiliating to sensible people to see British institutions so travestied. The retaliatory tactics of the opposing Dogberrys went bravely on. One day a Manitoba constable would be arrested for drunkenness by an Ontario constable, the next, Manitoba would reciprocate by arresting an Ontario official, or this dull routine would be enlivened by an assault on a newspaper correspondent, or the

apprehension of one of the magistrates on some trumped-up charge, to be followed by a general swearing out of informations and wholesale arrests all around the official circle. While these interesting proceedings commanded the strict attention of the magistrates and police, it may be imagined that the gamblers and whiskey peddlars enjoyed almost complete immunity, for it was next to impossible for a constable, zealous as he might be in the discharge of his duty, to observe the actions of evil-doers, while he himself was a fugitive from justice, engaged in dodging a warrant for his own arrest.

On 21st September, an election was held for the representation of the District of Algoma in the Ontario Legislature, and on the same day an election took place for the representation of the District of Varennes in the Manitoba Legislature. Mr. R. A. Lyon was the Ontario Government candidate in Algoma, and Mr. W. H. Plummer, Conservative, opposed him. In Varennes, Mr. James Millar presented himself as a supporter of the Manitoba Government, while Mr. James Gillespie ran as a Liberal, and an opponent of the Norquay administration. According to Ontario's contention, Rat Portage and Keewatin were included within the District of Algoma, while Manitoba maintained that her territory extended east to Vermilion Bay, so that the people of the district had the unique privilege of voting in both Provinces, for members to represent them in two Provincial Legislatures. The Ontario election resulted in the return of Mr. Lyon by a considerable majority, while, in Manitoba, Mr. Millar was elected by a majority of 354. Polls were held in Manitoba, at Rat Portage, Keewatin, White-mouth, Hawk Lake, and Vermilion Bay.

The troubles arising from the conflict of authority between the officials of the rival Provinces were rather intensified after

the elections. Manitoba determined to enforce her liquor laws against the holders of Ontario licenses. Captain Burden, the Ontario Commissioner, increased and armed his forces, and when an Ontario license-holder was arrested by the Manitoba police, rescued him, and arrested and imprisoned his captors. This proceeding was repeated, and the Manitoba Chief of Police was kept in jail, his subordinates being admitted to bail. On 21st November, Hon. James Millar, who had taken office in the Manitoba Government as Attorney-General, took out a writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Chief of Police Creighton, but its service was rendered unnecessary, as the Ontario authorities had released the prisoner, on the order of Honorable Oliver Mowat, Attorney-General of Ontario. Mr. Mowat suggested a conference with Mr. Millar, at Toronto, for the purpose of arriving, if possible, at some means of settlement of the existing difficulties. Manitoba agreed to this proposal, and the two Attorneys-General met and held numerous conferences, resulting in an agreement which may be summarized as follows:—Neither Government to abandon any claims; the agreement to be ratified by legislation in both provinces; Ontario to exercise authority south and east of the height of land dividing the waters flowing into the great lakes from those flowing into Hudson's Bay; all suits, proceedings, arrests and imprisonments, growing out of this dispute, to be suspended until a decision is rendered: in regard to the territory north and west of the height of land, each Government to appoint a Police Commissioner; the two Commissioners to have co-ordinate authority as Police Magistrates, and no other Justice of the Peace, Stipendiary Magistrate, or Commissioner of Police to have jurisdiction or authority in criminal matters at Rat Portage; the Commissioners to appoint and control the

police force, to issue licenses, fix the fees, appoint an Inspector of Licenses, and report to both Governments quarterly; fees and fines collected at Rat Portage to be banked to the credit of the Commissioners, subject to their joint cheque, and those collected in the other parts of the district to the joint credit of the Treasurers of the two provinces, to be held in trust until the dispute is decided; the authority of both the councils of Rat Portage to be suspended, and the municipal affairs of the town to be administered by a board of five members, to be elected on the fourth Tuesday after the two Legislatures have passed acts confirming this agreement: in matters of wills and letters of administration, the Surrogate Court of each province to have jurisdiction; the Courts, Judges, Sheriffs, etc., of each province to have jurisdiction in suits brought before them; Magistrates subsequently appointed to be commissioned by the Lieutenant-Governors of both provinces; a joint case to be submitted to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and certain documentary evidence, specified, to be submitted to that tribunal *quantum valeat*; the decision of the Privy Council to be carried into effect by such legislation as may become necessary. The joint case agreed upon for submission to the Privy Council was as follows:—

The Province of Manitoba claims that the boundary between that Province and the Province of Ontario is the meridian of the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

The Province of Ontario claims that the westerly boundary of that Province is either the meridian of the most north-westerly angle of the Lake of the Woods, or is a line west of that point.

It has been agreed to refer the matter to the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and the appendices contain the material agreed to be submitted for the adjudication of the dispute.

The questions to be submitted to the Privy Council are the following:—

(1) Whether the award is or is not, under all the circumstances, binding.

(2) In case the award is held not to settle the boundary in question, then what, on the evidence set forth in the appendices, is the true boundary between the said provinces.

(3) Whether in case legislation is needed to make the decision effectual or binding, acts passed by the Parliament of Canada and the Provincial Legislatures of Ontario and Manitoba, in connection with the Imperial Act, 34-5 Vic., cap. 23, or otherwise, will be sufficient, or whether a new Imperial Act for the purpose is necessary.

The agitation against the "monopoly clause" of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract was kept alive by the Opposition press, and by the formation of farmers' clubs throughout the country. A partial failure of the wheat crop of 1883, caused by summer frosts, and the reaction from the delusive prospects engendered by the boom, created a universal feeling of uneasiness and depression. People spoke wildly and bitterly of the tyranny and mismanagement of the Federal Government: repeal of the British North America Act, secession, annexation to the United States even found advocates: the stagnation in business, and the farmers' losses, being attributed to the alleged incapacity of the Provincial authorities, and the indifference of the Ottawa Cabinet regarding the rights of the North-West.

On 20th December, 1883, a convention of the Manitoba and North-West Farmers' Union assembled at Winnipeg, at which a Declaration of Rights was passed, embodying the following demands:—

1. The right of the local Government to charter railways anywhere in Manitoba, free from any interference.
2. The absolute control of her public lands (including school lands) by the Legislature of the Province, and compensation for lands sold and used for Federal purposes.
3. That the duty on agricultural implements and building

materials be removed, and the customs tariff on articles entering into daily consumption be greatly modified in the interests of the people of this Province and the North-West.

4. That it is the duty of the Provincial Government to make such amendments to the Municipal Act as shall empower Municipal Councils to build, or assist in building, elevators, grain warehouses and mills, within the limits of such municipalities. •

5. That it is the duty of the Provincial Government to appoint grain inspectors, whose duties it shall be to grade all grain brought into the market at central points.

6. That this convention is unanimously of opinion that the Hudson's Bay Railroad should be constructed with the least possible delay.

A resolution, favoring a demand for the repeal of the B.N.A. Act, and the creation of Manitoba and the North-West as a Crown Colony, was thrown out.

The convention appointed delegates to wait on the Provincial Government, with instructions to demand the recognition of the rights of Manitoba with regard to the foregoing declaration. Delegates were also appointed to proceed to Ottawa to present the farmers' grievances to the Federal Government. The convention elected the following officers:—President, Dr. Fleming, Brandon; 1st Vice-President, A. Mutchmore, Emerson; 2nd Vice-President, Dr. Haggarty, Portage la Prairie; 3rd Vice-President, John McTavish, Clearwater; Secretary, George Purvis, Brandon; Treasurer, Mayor White, Brandon.

The Provincial Government replied to the Declaration of Rights by a minute of Council, in which they stated, in reference to the first resolution, that the Government would always be happy to render any assistance in their power to-

wards the construction of local railways: that they considered the chartering of railways to connect with the American system would be an exercise of power not conferred upon the Province by its constitution; but they were of opinion that the right of the Province to charter railways within its limits might be freely exercised, subject to limitations in the newly-added territory: in reference to the Hudson's Bay railway, the Province could not legally undertake the construction of the road, nor pledge its credit to the enterprise, except in respect of that portion of the road which lay within its boundaries; they promised legislation on the lines suggested in the resolution, regarding the assistance to the building of elevators and grain warehouses. The minute of Council made no reference to the ownership of the Provincial lands.

The Farmers' Union delegates, Messrs. Purvis, Mutchmore, and Martin, went to Ottawa in February, 1884, during the session of the Dominion Parliament, and presented the memorial entrusted to them to Sir John A. Macdonald. The Premier, in replying to their representations of the disabilities under which the North-West was suffering, told them plainly that he could not give them any assurance of immediate relief, so far as the rescission of the monopoly clause was concerned; the Government were bound to protect the Canadian Pacific Railway from foreign competition until its main line was completed from ocean to ocean, and the road placed on a paying footing. Neither could the Government discriminate against the rest of the country by granting an exceptional tariff to the North-West. He acknowledged the importance of the Hudson's Bay Railway as a factor in the future development of the North-West, but did not see the immediate necessity for its construction. He complimented the delegates

on the able and intelligent manner in which they presented their case, and stated that it was clear to him that the movement was not a party or political one, as had been represented. The delegates left Ottawa without having accomplished anything, and on their return to Manitoba, a circular was issued, calling a convention at Winnipeg, for 5th March, 1884. The circular called upon all classes of the community to send representatives to the convention "to consider the course to be taken to relieve the Province from the present existing depression, and to obtain relief from Dominion oppression," and adjured them to lay aside all party political feelings and, "as Manitobans, combine to obtain our just rights, and unite as one man to secure them."

The convention brought together a number of fairly representative men from all portions of Manitoba, and its deliberations were watched with interest by the entire population. Mr. Norquay, receiving a delegation who waited upon him for an exposition of his views, assured them of his entire sympathy in their endeavor to obtain redress of existing wrongs, and declared that he would never cease to battle for the rights of the Province until Manitoba was placed on an equal footing with the other members of the Confederation. He asked them to be moderate in their deliberations, avoiding all that could be construed as demagogism, reminding them that determined but constitutional agitation was better calculated to win results than angry declamation or idle threats. But Mr. Norquay was not singular in endorsing the platform of the Farmers' Union, a majority of the country was with them, and ready to stand by them in the struggle for Provincial rights, until, unfortunately for all concerned, the following resolution was introduced, and carried without a dissenting voice :—

Rev. N. Brown, seconded by Mr. James Shillinglaw, moved : "That, in the opinion of the convention, the burdens laid on the people of Manitoba are so great that agricultural operations cannot be made to yield a fair profit; that immigration, before the removal of these burdens, will benefit neither the Province nor the immigrants; and that this convention cannot advise immigrants to settle in the Province till full redress of the grievances complained of by this convention shall have been attained."

One delegate proposed going further, and advertising the resolution at home and abroad, with a notice that the resolution would be formally declared to be cancelled when the Government should grant the reforms demanded by the convention: but the proposal was very properly ignored. Harm enough had been done by the original resolution. It was a stupid mistake committed in a moment of impulsive fanaticism. Its adoption had not the effect of forcing concessions from the Dominion, as it was calculated to do, but it served to discredit and injure the whole North-West in the eyes of the world. It was eagerly seized upon by the immigration agents of the United States and other countries, printed in a dozen languages, and scattered broadcast over the continent of Europe. Another result of this resolution was to cast a doubt upon the sincerity of the Farmers' Union, and place its members in the light of factious partizans, ready to sacrifice the country at large for the sake of satisfying their hatred of political opponents. It alienated the sympathy and support which had been so generously extended by the people of the Province, and brought the Union into disrepute, so that its subsequent transactions were repudiated and rendered futile. The anti-immigration resolution of the Farmers' Union was

indignantly denounced at a mass meeting of the citizens of Winnipeg, and also by the Board of Trade. Yet, much as this resolution of the Farmers' Union has been condemned, they might have quoted a precedent, and claimed the example of a high authority in passing it, for in the Honorable John Norquay's report to Council, of the 2nd March, 1883, urging upon the Dominion Government the recognition of the claims of Manitoba to her public lands, and an increase of subsidy—adopted by that body and forwarded to the Governor-General of Canada—we find the following:—"The provision allowed for our requirements being now so inadequate, the contemplation of our position, when a great influx of population will multiply the expense of Government, is far from a pleasant prospect, but a fact that must be faced. Indeed, a large addition to the population of the Province would be nothing short of an evil in disguise, the rapid settlement of the territory would prove anything but a blessing; to meet increasing requirements under present circumstances would be an impossibility, our revenue being out of all proportion to our necessary expenditure."

While the Farmers' Union delegates were at Ottawa, Hon. John Norquay was there also, urging upon the Government the consideration and adjustment of Manitoba's claims. His demands were in many respects identical with those of the Farmers' Union. He asked for an increase of subsidy; Provincial control of the public lands; extension of the boundaries west to the 102nd meridian, and north to the 60th degree of latitude, so as to give Manitoba an outlet on Hudson's Bay, and enable her to charter and control a railway to the inland sea. His representations were received with a certain amount of impatience by the Dominion Government, and after wait-

ing in the capital for some time, during which he held several conferences with Sir John A. Macdonald and other Ministers, urging a settlement, he returned to Winnipeg without having accomplished anything. The Legislature was called together on 13th March, 1884 (occupying the new Parliament House for the first time), and the Speech from the Throne made no allusion to Mr. Norquay's mission, save to regret that the Dominion had as yet taken no action in respect to Manitoba's claims. On 15th April, however, the Premier laid on the table the correspondence with Ottawa in reference to the demands of Manitoba, which included a despatch containing the Dominion Government's ultimatum, of which the following is a summary :—

On the question of the enlargement of the boundaries to the west and north, the despatch said: "The boundaries of Manitoba were originally fixed at the instance of the delegates from that Province, who came to Ottawa in the year 1870, to adjust, with the Government of Canada, the terms upon which Manitoba was to enter the Confederation of Her Majesty's North American Provinces. The limits then agreed to embraced an area of 9,500,000 acres." In 1881, these limits were extended west and north, making the total area of the Province 96,000,000 acres. The enlargement now asked for would add about 180,000 square miles to the Province, increasing the expenses of government without increasing the resources of the Province, and it was therefore deemed inadvisable to grant the extension. Regarding the Hudson's Bay Railway, the Government promised to lend their assistance to that road by bringing about an amalgamation of the two existing companies who held charters for its construction, and by a liberal land grant to the company giving satisfactory assurances of

its ability to complete the work. They also promised to make an immediate and efficient examination into the question of the navigation of Hudson's Bay and Straits. As to an increase of subsidy, the Government agreed that, pending the result of an enquiry into the financial relations of the Province with the Dominion, and an adjustment of the same (asked for by a resolution of the legislature), as the rapid increase in population had rendered the decennial revision of the subsidy insufficient, a quinquennial census of the Province should be taken in the future, reckoning the first five years from September, 1881, and that between the future takings of the census, approximate estimates should be made, so that the amount of subsidy should be revised four times in each decade, and at each revision re-adjusted according to population, until the number of inhabitants shall have reached 400,000. The first of such approximate estimates to be made on 1st September, 1884, when, if the population was found to exceed 120,000 (the existing estimate), the first re-adjustment should take place. The Government declined to make any concession with regard to school lands. They also declined to entertain Manitoba's claim to the public lands of the Province, pointing out that the Province had received an annual grant of \$45,000 a year in lieu of her lands from 1882. They further drew attention to the free homestead and pre-emption laws, which had been proclaimed throughout Europe, and to the carrying out of which the faith of the Dominion was pledged, but they intimated that the existing arrangements, in respect of Dominion lands, might advantageously be enquired into in a manner similar to that contemplated in the legislative resolution regarding the Province's financial relations with the Dominion.



Hon. Thomas Greenway.



The legislature received this despatch as an arbitrary repudiation of what every member considered the equitable rights of the Province. The Premier reviewed the history of the past negotiations for better terms, in a masterly address, which was the greatest oratorical effort of his life. He quoted facts and figures to prove the justice of Manitoba's demands, and demonstrated clearly that his native Province had been deprived of her rights from the moment she entered Confederation—robbed of her heritage of broad and fertile acres, even before her birth as a Province—she had been made the victim for the benefit of the eastern provinces, by both parties in Dominion politics, and he closed by declaring that now having presented the case of Manitoba, supported by irrefutable evidence, if their demands were ignored, he was prepared to carry their grievances to the foot of the Throne, and plead there for the justice that had been denied by the Government of Canada. Mr. Norquay's patriotic stand was applauded by an enthusiastic and united House. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Thomas Greenway, complimented him, and congratulated the country on having for a leader a man who thus fearlessly stood forth as the champion of its rights. He concurred in everything the Premier had said, and pledged the support of the Opposition to assist him in carrying out the policy he had enunciated.

As a reply to the Dominion Government's despatch, the following resolution was adopted unanimously :—

"Resolved, that this House, having had under consideration the despatch of the Secretary of State for the Dominion of Canada to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba, of the date of 2nd April, instant, regrets that the Federal Government have not seen their way clear to

acknowledge the right of this Province to the control of her lands, and to place her in the same status as the originally confederated provinces. In addition to her first claims, it is absolutely necessary for the requirements of this Province, that a re-adjustment of her capital account and financial status should at once be made. And that a delegation of this House, composed of the Hon. Mr. Speaker and such members of this House as are members of the Executive Council, that this House may appoint, to at once proceed to Ottawa to meet the committee, as suggested in the said despatch of the second of April, to procure from the Government of Canada a settlement of the rights of this Province, as claimed by its Legislature."

The instructions to the delegates were set forth in a resolution, moved by Hon. John Norquay, seconded by Hon. A. A. C. La Riviere, and were as follow :—

1. To urge the right of the Province to the control, management and sale of the public lands within its limits, for the public uses thereof, and of the mines, minerals, wood and timber thereon, or an equivalent therefor, and to receive from the Dominion Government payment for the lands already disposed of by them within the Province, less the costs of survey and measurement.

2. The management of the lands set apart for education in this Province, with a view to capitalize the sum realized from sales, and apply the interest accruing therefrom to supplement the annual grant of the Legislature in aid of education.

3. The adjustment of the capital account of the Province, decennially according to population—the same to be computed now at 150,000 souls, and to be allowed until it corresponds to the amount allowed the Province of Ontario on that account.

4. The right of the Province to charter lines of railway from any one point to another within the Province, except so far as the same has been limited by its Legislature in the Extension Act of 1881.

5. That the grant of 80 cents a head be not limited to a population of 400,000 souls, but that the same be allowed the Province until the maximum on which the said grant is allowed to the Province of Ontario be reached.

6. The granting to the Province extended railway facilities—notably the energetic prosecution of the Manitoba South-western, the Souris and Rocky Mountain, and the Manitoba and North-Western railways.

7. To call the attention of the Government to the prejudicial effect of the tariff on the Province of Manitoba.

8. Extension of boundaries.

The delegation, consisting of Hon. Alexander Murray, Speaker; Hon. John Norquay, Provincial Treasurer; Hon. C. P. Brown, Minister of Public Works, and Hon. James A. Millar, Attorney-General, proceeded to Ottawa, and after several interviews with the members of the Privy Council, elicited a reply to the "Bill of Rights," as it was popularly called.

The Legislature had adjourned to enable the delegation to accomplish their mission and report. Accordingly, it re-assembled on 26th May, for the purpose of receiving the report of the delegates. The answer to the "Bill of Rights" was a voluminous document, in which each demand was dealt with separately and at length. Summarized, it amounted to this: The demand of the Province for the control of the public lands was refused, on the ground that the Dominion had bought the lands from the Hudson's Bay Company, and therefore had a right to retain possession, but the annual grant of

\$45,000, in lieu of lands, was continued; 150,000 acres was to be endowed upon the University of Manitoba, and all swamp lands reclaimed by the Provincial authorities were to be transferred to the Province. The transfer of the school lands was also refused, with the assurance that they would be strictly administered, and that the interest on the proceeds of all sales would be regularly paid to the Province. The Provincial subsidy was proposed to be increased to the extent of \$208,000 per annum. The Government assured the delegates of the earnest desire to extend railway facilities in Manitoba and the North-West in any direction that would not conflict with the general interests and the engagements of the Dominion, referring in proof of their sincerity to the extraordinary expenditure made upon the Canadian Pacific main line, and the immense land grants to that company, and also the appropriation of \$100,000 to test the navigability of the Hudson's Bay and Straits. It was contended that the delegates had not shown that the effect of the tariff was prejudicial to the Province. If its operations were exceptional in some few cases, it was believed that improved means of transport from the other Provinces would remedy the evil, failing which they might be adjusted on the recommendations of the Ministers of Finance and Customs. The extension of the boundaries was refused on the grounds set forth in a former despatch (that of 2nd April, 1884, already quoted). The proposals were made in anticipation of their being satisfactory to the people of Manitoba, and upon the condition that they would be accepted by the Provincial Legislature as a settlement of the claims urged by the delegates.

The concessions preferred were substantial and valuable, and might have been received with satisfaction by the Legis-

lature had they been unconditional, but saddled as they were with the proviso that if accepted they must be taken as a final settlement of the claims of the Province, the Government and the House absolutely refused to entertain them. Mr. Norquay introduced a series of resolutions, in which the report of the delegates was treated clause by clause; the claims of the Province reiterated, and the reasons for declining the proposed concessions fully explained. The resolutions concluded: "It is obvious that the propositions made by the Federal Government cannot be accepted as a settlement of the claims urged by the delegation charged with their submission at Ottawa; and while appreciating some of the concessions proposed, this House, with a sense of its responsibility to the people of this country, and having in view the best interests of this Province, deems it its duty to decline the acceptance of the proposition for the reasons already adduced." The resolutions were adopted unanimously, the galleries being crowded with enthusiastic citizens who followed the proceedings with great interest. The Legislature prorogued on 5th June, 1884. On the last day of the Session, a Bill providing for direct taxation was introduced by Mr. Norquay, and passed its first and second readings without discussion. This measure was rendered necessary as the estimates exceeded the visible revenue by \$144,096.61; and Mr. Norquay explained his object in having the bill put through its preliminary stages was that it might be printed and circulated through the country, so that the people might be prepared for the inevitable result of the Dominion's refusal to grant the relief asked for, and that they might be made fully aware of the nature of the bill before it was finally passed.



## CHAPTER V.

### CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION.

IN a previous chapter we endeavored to shew a few of the difficulties encountered by the directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in making the necessary financial arrangements for carrying the enterprise through to a successful termination. These were not the only difficulties, however, to be overcome. The work of construction was a stupendous undertaking, and required great skill, determination and undaunted courage to accomplish. While Mr. George Stephen and his fellow-directors were grappling with the question of finance, the general manager of the company was pushing forward the building of the road with wonderful rapidity. In the person of Mr. W. C. Van Horne (now Sir W. C. Van Horne), the Canadian Pacific Railway Company were fortunate in obtaining the services of a man whose intimate knowledge of every detail in railway construction and railway management, enabled him to complete the great work far in advance of the limits of the contract, and in a manner that placed the road foremost in the front rank of railways in America. The rapidity with which construction was carried on, together with the substantial and thorough nature of the work done, was the wonder and admiration of engineers and railway-men the world over, and it is not too much to say that this was due to the personal care and supervision of Mr. Van Horne himself.

On the 7th November, 1885, or about five years and a half in advance of the time agreed upon in the charter for the completion of the line, the last spike was driven by Hon. Donald A. Smith, at Craigellachie, in British Columbia, and the National Highway of Canada was an assured fact. On the same day, Her Majesty the Queen, through His Excellency the Governor-General, graciously congratulated the people of the Dominion on the completion of the railway, a work which Her Majesty regarded as of great importance to the whole British Empire.

In the selection of Hon. Donald A. Smith to perform the closing ceremony of driving the last spike, the choice was a happy and befitting one for the occasion. As these pages have shown from time to time, the opening up of the great North-West—the development of its resources by means of transportation, and other facilities, and the successful completion of a transcontinental railway from ocean to ocean through Canada was due, in a very large measure, to his foresight, influence, and unswerving devotion. In saying this, it does not detract in the least from the great services rendered by the others connected with the work, more especially Mr. Geo. Stephen (Lord Mount Stephen), the head of the undertaking, whose skill, energy, and indomitable perseverance, was mainly instrumental in carrying the enterprise through to a successful termination.

But long before Mr. Stephen, or any of the gentlemen of the Canadian Pacific Railway, became in any way connected with North-Western affairs, Mr. Donald A. Smith had performed valuable service in that direction. First, we find him as Commissioner, in 1869-70, bringing the dispute between the Dominion and the discontented people of the North-West

to a satisfactory issue—then, although his name does not appear, he was a powerful factor in building up the steamboat transportation facilities on the Red River, thereby giving the North-West a means of communication with the outside world, commensurate with its rapid progress. Next, we find him acting as the medium and the means to bring together the necessary capital and skill by which the North-West was furnished with railway facilities *via* the United States. The success which attended the formation of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway enabled the men connected with it to come to the rescue of Canada, when, after repeated failures to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, it seemed as if the great work would have to be abandoned, or postponed for many years. Although Sir Donald A. Smith has never occupied any more prominent position in the Canadian Pacific Railway Company than that of a simple director (through his own desire), it is well known that his powerful hand was ever there to encourage and aid in the great work. It was like the crowning act of his devotion to Canada and the North-West, therefore, when he drove the last spike on the Canadian Pacific Railway at Craigellachie.

Fifty-three months of arduous labor and great anxiety were consumed in the building of the road, during which the enterprise received much unfair and undeserved hostility, often from parties who should have aided instead of having attempted to retard the work. It may then be well at this time to give some idea of the nature of that work, and the extent of the undertaking.

The general location of the route from ocean navigation at Montreal to the Rocky Mountains on Canadian territory, is north of Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods, and south

of Lake Winnipeg. The line passing from the Ottawa valley into Lake Huron, on its way thence to Lake Superior, traverses for about one hundred miles the watershed of the Hudson Bay near the height of land. Thence to Lake Superior, numerous long rock cuts are encountered, separated by shallow valleys with marshy bottoms, with little material for road-bed over or near them, except solid rock boulders or hard-pan, which made the work of construction most difficult. Along the eastern shore of the lake there were high, rocky bluffs, which necessitated heavy cuts and numerous tunnels, the cost of constructing a mile of road running up in some cases as high as \$700,000.

The highest summit reached between Montreal and Lake Superior was 1,550 feet above the tide, or about 950 feet above Lake Superior; and the highest between Lake Superior and Red River, 1,560 feet above tide.

The maximum grade between Montreal and Lake Superior is one per cent., and the minimum curvature 6 degrees. Between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains the maximum grade going west is, with one exception, one per cent. The exception is a short grade from Medicine Hat. Coming east, the maximum is 40 feet as far as Winnipeg, thence to Lake Superior 26 feet.

The Government had located their line from Red River to the Rocky Mountains, as we have already shown, in a north-westerly direction in order to strike the Yellow Head Pass, by which route grades of one per cent. were attainable. This direction, while it encountered rather formidable crossings of the two Saskatchewan and their tributaries, was a central one for the largest area of the fertile belt. The route from Yellow Head Pass to the Pacific terminus was necessarily cir-

cuitous, and the distance from Red River to Kamloops by this pass was 1,350 miles.

The result of the Government surveys showed that the Yellow Head Pass was the most southern practicable one, for a line limited to one per cent. grades, and was also considered the best for a colonization road. It was therefore adopted. But the question of future competition by parallel lines on the prairies was not considered when it was a Government road, while with a private corporation the case was different; it could not afford to take the risks which a Government might safely do. The general direction of their road was nearly due west, and as they were on the 50th parallel at Red River, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company decided to abandon the Government location (a choice which they had a perfect right to make), and to follow that parallel as closely as possible, so as to not only shorten the through distance, but also leave no room for a competing trunk line to the south of them. The line, as thus chosen, runs through the best of the wheat country for nearly 400 miles west of Winnipeg, and for 200 miles this side of the Rocky Mountains, through the best of stock-raising and mining districts. Along some parts of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the far west, it has been decided to adopt irrigation, and preparations on an extensive scale are being made to that end.

In the prairie sections, precautions have been taken against snow blockades by keeping the line in embankment wherever possible, and flattening the slopes of necessary cuts, and depositing the soil well off as a snow screen. The sidings at stations are also thrown well out so that cars standing on them cannot cause drifts on the main line. As a result of these precautions, the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway

has been comparatively free from blockades in the winter time.

Passing from the prairie section, the Rocky Mountains in Canada maintain a north-westerly direction, and may be said to terminate, as a distinct range, between the 51st and 52nd parallel: thence descending to the Peace River Pass latitude, 56° north, which is only about 2,000 feet above sea level. All the rivers on the eastern slope of the Rockies penetrate the range to a greater extent the further north they are found, and the Peace River is the first which cuts entirely through the Rocky Mountain range, draining the table land between the coast range and the Rockies. Between Peace River and the International Boundary some ten passes have been explored, ranging from 7,000 to 2,000 feet, as you go northward, the central one, the Yellow Head Pass, selected by the Government, having an altitude of 3,733 feet. The range, which has an average breadth of 60 miles at the 49th parallel, decreases at the Peace River to about 40 miles.

The timber line in the Canadian Rockies is 7,000 feet, and above the height of 6,000 feet snow falls to some extent in every month of the year. Above this elevation large patches of perennial snow are met with, and true glaciers make their appearance. These, fed by large snow fields, are the sources of the numerous streams which supply the great rivers of the plains in summer.

The Mountain section extends from the eastern slope of the Rockies to the terminus at the City of Vancouver, a distance of 522 miles, by the line of railway, but less than 400 as the crow flies—the railway for nearly the whole distance threading its way through the permanent troughs of what has been described as the “Sea of Mountains.”

While the building of the railway over the prairies was being rapidly pushed on, the company were busy seeking a more southern crossing of the mountains, having obtained the consent of the Government to any pass found practicable south of the Yellow Head, but not less than 100 miles north of the boundary line. The Bow River Valley led up by an easy route from the 50th parallel, to more than one pass through the Rockies by which the valley of the Columbia River could be reached. In descending the western slope of the Rockies, which is everywhere more difficult than the eastern, owing to its being more precipitous, the line by the Kicking Horse Pass (the one selected), is transferred from Bow River, by ascending one of its tributaries, about three miles in length, to its source. Eastward of this point of departure from Bow River, there is no grade to Atlantic tide water exceeding one per cent., but immediately after crossing the summit the heaviest grade on the whole line is encountered, four and one-half per cent. upon two stretches of three and one quarter miles each, with a three mile ease between. This was a deviation from the contract location, which ran along the precipitous face of Mount Stephen, underneath an adjoining glacier, and which would have necessitated heavy work and increased cost.

The railway route is nearly due west, but the Columbia River, where the Kicking Horse strikes it, flows northward to the 52nd parallel, and there doubles, returning southward and enclosing in this bend the Selkirk range of mountains. To cross the range in the direction desired for the railway was less than one-third of that following round by the river, and therefore the company made every effort to discover a pass. Major A. B. Rogers, an American engineer, was employed to

make the explorations, and finally succeeded in finding the desired pass, a feat which was much appreciated by the company and handsomely rewarded. The cost, however, of crossing the Selkirks was very great on account of the snow question. Strong and costly sheds had to be constructed to protect the track, and a great deal of expensive bridge work done.

In 1885, there were 35 snow sheds erected in the mountains, having a total length of four miles, but in 1886 the fires so denuded the hillsides of timber, leaving no support for the snow, that it was found necessary to increase the number of the sheds to 53, with a total length of six miles. It was found that long sheds were undesirable, not only on account of the extra fire risk in summer, but in the handling of freight trains in winter, when the sheds are entirely dark from snow, and choked with smoke from the engines, the brakemen were unable to see signals or hear whistles. Mr. Van Horne, the General Manager, suggested a plan, however, to obviate these difficulties. He shortened the length of the sheds, and erected, on the mountain slope above the track, a series of glance-works, triangular in plan, thus splitting the slides, and the wings being slightly curved and extended so as to pass the line of the shed portals, the course of the slide was diverted and thrown over the shed. These glance-works or "split fences" as they are called, proved most effective, and lessened the cost of snow-shedding, but, notwithstanding this, several million dollars were spent in protecting the track in the mountains.

The company bound itself to expend the whole of the \$15,000,000—interest on which is guaranteed by the Government, for fifty years, in consideration of the abandonment of their

monopoly—upon the main line between Quebec and Vancouver. Of this amount, five and a quarter millions was apportioned in the agreement to rolling stock, five and a half millions to buildings, snow-sheds, sidings, permanent bridges, filling in trestles, reducing grades and curves, and other improvements. The remaining four and a quarter millions was apportioned to elevators, bridges, locomotive shops, filling trestles, sidings, docks, and lake and coast steamers. The original bridges, built of wood, have in many cases been replaced by others constructed of steel, and the work of improving the condition of the road has gone on steadily since the last spike was driven in 1885.

The whole work of construction constituted a wonderful record in railway building, as, within a period of about five years the company built, equipped and put into operation over 2,400 miles of new railway, embracing, on the Lake Superior and mountain sections, many hundreds of miles of the heaviest and most difficult railway work to be found on either side of the Atlantic.

It may now be interesting to give some particulars in regard to the progress of construction from 1881, and a short description of the country traversed. By the close of that year, 163 miles were constructed westward from Winnipeg. In 1882, the company completed a further distance of 423 miles, or 586 from Winnipeg, and in December, 1883, the railway was finished to Laggan, near the summit of the Rocky Mountains, being altogether a total of 956 miles, constructed in three years time. The Government had undertaken, by the terms of their agreement with the company, to transfer, when finished, the railway already under construction and that already built, in all some 710 miles; and while the road westward

from Winnipeg was being built by the company, the line eastward to Port Arthur, a distance of 430 miles, was completed by the Government in May, 1883, and handed over to the company. The railway was therefore open from Port Arthur, on Lake Superior, to the summit of the Rockies, in the month of May, 1884. It must not be supposed that because the work of construction was quickly done it was therefore poorly done. On the contrary, the entire line is thoroughly well built, with the very best of materials, and to show that it was well graded, it may be stated that the earthwork from Winnipeg to the Rockies averaged 16,300 cubic yards to the mile. The maximum gradients to the eastern base of the Rockies, with one exception, that near the crossing of the Saskatchewan River, are 40 feet to the mile, while steel rails of English and German make are used throughout the entire line. The year 1884 was occupied with the construction of the railway north of Lake Superior, and in the mountains. On the Lake Superior section of the road, which was one of the most difficult the company had to deal with, there were from 10,000 to 12,000 men employed at a time, and from 1,500 to 2,000 teams of horses. Twelve steamers of different sizes were employed to bring supplies to this army of laborers. The Lake Superior section was completed early in 1885, and opened for traffic in the autumn of the same year. Prior to 1881, the Government had undertaken to build the western section from Burrard Inlet to Savona's Ferry, 213 miles. East of that section of the road, three distinct mountain ranges—the Rockies, the Selkirks, and the Gold Range—had to be traversed. The eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains offered no especial difficulties; the track which reached Calgary in the middle of August, was carried to the summit by November, 1883. In the spring of 1884,

work was energetically resumed, and in less than a year the difficulties—and they were enormous—of the Kicking Horse Pass were surmounted. Towards the close of 1884, the Government line was so far completed to Savona's Ferry that work could be begun at the west end of the company's section. As already stated, a pass through the Selkirk range had been discovered; and finally, on the 7th of November, 1885, the last spike to complete the line from the Atlantic to the Pacific was driven. One has only to travel over the line through the Rockies to comprehend the immense physical difficulties that have been overcome in the construction of the railway. None but those who have seen them can realize their extent and immensity. More than 300 miles in the aggregate have been cut through solid rock; the mountains have been pierced by numerous tunnels; innumerable rivers of various sizes have been crossed, some by iron bridges over a thousand feet in length; and no less than fourteen streams have been diverted from their natural beds by tunneling through the solid rock. The successful carrying on of this great enterprise, so far as its physical features are concerned, is quite unparalleled in railway construction. It is, in magnitude and difficulty, as well as rapidity of execution, the greatest achievement of human labor that the world has ever seen.

The total length of the line from Quebec to Vancouver is 3,052 miles.

By way of Carleton Junction and Smith's Falls, Toronto is reached, and the Credit Valley section from Toronto to St. Thomas makes connection with the Michigan Central, running to Chicago and all points in the Western States; the Toronto, Grey and Bruce runs from Toronto to Owen Sound, the port of departure of the steamers running to Fort William, and

the Ontario and Quebec, now part of the Canadian Pacific system, from Smith's Falls to Montreal, shortens the distance between that city and Toronto very considerably as compared with the old route *via* Ottawa. The bridge across the St. Lawrence, at Lachine, also gives connection with the lines on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, and the short line to Halifax brings the Maritime Provinces into direct and much closer connection with the great national road, and secures an outlet at all seasons of the year through Canadian ports.

On the stretch from Montreal to Ottawa, the railway crosses a mineral belt of land in which phosphate of lime, copper, galena, and iron ore are plentiful; containing also large and valuable forests of pine, together with a fair proportion of good agricultural land.

The line west of Pembroke closely follows the south bank of the Ottawa River, and after leaving Mattawa the country somewhat improves in appearance, and some very good farms dot the landscape.

Lake Nipissing, the next point reached, is one of the finest sheets of water in the interior of Ontario, about 50 miles long and 30 miles wide. It abounds with fish, and game is plentiful on its shores. It is a very important lumbering centre, and there is a heavy business in the carriage of square pine timber for the Trans-Atlantic trade by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Leaving North Bay, the railway skirts for some distance the north shore of Lake Nipissing, then follows for some miles the valley of the Veuve River, and 443 miles from Montreal, and 79 from North Bay, Sudbury Junction is reached, near which immense deposits of copper and iron have been found. At Michipocoten, farther on, which is the name of a

river, bay, and island at the extreme east of Lake Superior, there have been some extensive discoveries of silver, copper and iron, and the whole of this district is full of workable mines, which until the completion of the railway had no proper transportation facilities.

After crossing this river the line, 357 miles from Sudbury, crosses the Pic River, six miles from its outlet into Lake Superior.

At 128 miles from the River Pic, the River Nipigon bars the way. This river is crossed by a heavy iron bridge, 700 ft. long and 80 ft. high. The country around is an old copper mining district, and very rich. As the Thunder Bay district is reached, silver mining becomes a prominent feature in the industry of the country, and a number of most valuable deposits in this district have been already discovered, and are now being mined.

As Fort William is approached, the glorious scenery of the entrance to Thunder Bay arrests the attention, and will not easily be forgotten. The main entrance lies between the imposing headlands of Thunder Cape, 1,350 ft. above the level of the lake, and Pie Island, five miles south-west of the cape, with an altitude of 850 ft.

Westward from Fort William the railway runs through a rough country, well timbered, and exceedingly rich in minerals. Rat Portage, with its lumber mills and wonderful water power, is next passed, and the line skirts the beautiful Lake of the Woods, the picturesque scenery of which rivals that of the thousand islands on the St. Lawrence. Several thriving towns are next passed, and then the line turns toward Winnipeg, which place is entered by means of a handsome iron bridge, named after H.R.H. the Princess Louise.

Winnipeg, the commercial centre of the North-West, 1,424 miles from Montreal, 1,482 from Vancouver, and 1,680, *via* Brockville, from New York, by the three main and several branch lines radiating from its station, is the central city of the Continent, and bids fair to be probably one of the largest.

From this point the railway runs for a distance of 839 miles across the great prairie of the North-West to Calgary, passing in the way numerous rising prairie towns, such as Portage-la-Prairie, Brandon, Broadview, Qu'Appelle, Regina, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat, and many others, which time and space forbid our mentioning here, across one vast plain of fertile land destined to become the home of thousands, aye millions, of prosperous and contented settlers.

On leaving Calgary, the railway proceeds for three miles through the broad flat valley of the Bow River, and five miles beyond this the river is crossed for the third time by a bridge over 420 feet in length, 3,666 feet above sea level. Further west, the track crosses Kananskis River, a turbulent stream, tributary to the Bow River, and here the valley is contracted to half a mile in width, and the portals of the mountains are entered. The scene is now grand. Peaks tower behind and above, and now a pyramid, again a pinnacle, here an awful precipice, and there a pine-covered slope. Near Banff, seven miles westward, there are sulphur springs, and a magnificent hotel, built by the railway company, at a short distance from the station. The temperature of the water in one of the springs is 73°, and in the other 200°.

Westward still we pass, under the shadow of the mountains, and over wild mountain streams, shortly stopping at Stephen, named after the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to whom the successful prosecution of the enterprise

is so largely due. This is the highest elevation on the railway, the road being 5,291 feet above the sea. From Stephen the track proceeds down the Kicking Horse Valley, amid scenery more magnificent even than before, and spans the Columbia River, up the Beaver River, a tributary of the Columbia. The railway now continues to the second crossing of the Columbia, passes through the Eagle Pass, and on through the valley of the Thompson River to Kamloops. Crossing the Fraser, the line proceeds along the western bank to Yale and Hope, where a westerly course is again resumed to Vancouver, completing a distance of 2,906 miles from Montreal across the Continent to the terminus on the Pacific.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### DEFEAT OF THE NORQUAY GOVERNMENT.

AFTER the prorogation of the Legislature, in June, 1884, the next subject of engrossing interest was the probable result of the trial of the Interprovincial Boundary case before the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. The hearing was fixed for the 16th July, and on that day the arguments began, and were continued for several days. The counsel representing the parties interested were the Honorable Oliver Mowat, Q.C., for Ontario, and D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., for Manitoba. On 11th August, an Imperial Order-in-Council was passed, which practically confirmed the award of the arbitrators, delivered in 1878. After reciting the previous Orders-in-Council, authorizing the reference to the Judicial Committee, and the special case submitted, the Order-in-Council proceeds to sum up as follows:—

(1) That legislation by the Dominion of Canada as well as by the Province of Ontario was necessary to give binding effect as against the Dominion, and to the award of the 3rd of August, 1878, and that as no such legislation had taken place, the award is not binding.

(2) That nevertheless their Lordships find so much of the boundary lines laid down by that award as relate to the territory now in dispute between the Province of Ontario and the Province of Manitoba to be substantially correct, and in accordance with the conclusions which their Lordships have drawn from the evidence laid before them.

That upon the evidence their Lordships find the true boundary between the western part of the Province of Ontario and the north-eastern part of the Province of Manitoba to be so much of a line drawn to the

Lake of the Woods, through the waters eastward of that, and west of Long Lake, which divides British North America from the territory of the United States, and thence to the Lake of the Woods to the most north-western point of that lake as runs northward from the United States boundary, and from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods a line drawn due north until it strikes the middle line of the course of the river discharging the waters of the lake called Lac Seul or the Lonely Lake, whether above or below its confluence with the stream flowing from the Lake of the Woods towards Lake Winnipeg. And their Lordships find the true boundary between the same two provinces to the north of Ontario and to the south of Manitoba, proceeding eastward from the point at which the beforementioned line strikes the middle line of the course of the river last aforesaid to be along the middle line of the course of the same river (whether called by the name of the English River or as to the part below the confluence, by the name of the River Winnipeg), up to Lake Seul or the Lonely Lake and thence along the middle line of Lake Seul or the Lonely Lake to the head of that lake, and thence by a straight line to the nearest point of the middle line of the waters of Lake Saint Joseph, and thence along the middle line until it reaches the foot or outlet of that lake, and thence along the middle line of the river by which the waters of Lake Saint Joseph discharge themselves until it reaches a line due north from a line drawn due north from the confluence of the Rivers Mississippi and Ohio, which forms the boundary eastward of the Province of Manitoba.

(3) That without expressing an opinion as to the sufficiency or otherwise of concurrent legislation of the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba and of the Dominion of Canada (if such legislation should take place), their Lordships think it desirable and most expedient that an Imperial Act of Parliament should be passed to make this decision binding and effectual.

The decision of the Privy Council was received with general rejoicing in Ontario, but Manitoba was sorely disappointed at the curtailment of her domain, and chagrined by the triumphant tone of the Liberal newspapers, who had all along ridiculed her pretensions to the disputed territory.

Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, ex-Premier, visited Manitoba and the North-West in September, 1884, and received a cordial welcome from his political friends and admirers. He was accompanied by Mrs. Mackenzie, Sir Richard Cartwright, and

Mr. Fairbanks, M.P. The distinguished visitors were the guests of Sir Donald A. Smith, at Silver Heights, during their stay at Winnipeg. They visited a number of places in Manitoba, and then proceeded west to the end of the C. P. R. track, receiving addresses and other demonstrations of welcome at various points of their journey.

When Major-General Lord Wolseley undertook the Gordon Relief Expedition, in 1884, he requested the assistance of a contingent of Canadian volunteers to man the boats, and convey them up the rapids and cataracts of the Nile. The requisition met with a hearty response in all parts of the Dominion, and the North-West was not behindhand. In September, one hundred men, many of whom had served under Wolseley, in the Red River Expedition of 1870, departed from Winnipeg, under command of Lieut.-Colonel William N. Kennedy, to join the army in Egypt. The Nor'-Westers did good service, and several were distinguished for individual acts of heroism. Their brave commander, after undergoing the hardships and dangers of the campaign, fell a victim to small-pox at London, England, while *en route* to his home at Winnipeg.

The Farmers' Union agitation was vigorously kept up; branches were formed in every part of Manitoba, and at every meeting the policy of the Government, in refusing to accept the Ottawa proposals, was endorsed. Mr. Norquay was at this time the popular idol, but a few of the ultra Conservatives, who regarded his defiance of the Federal authorities as a menace to the existence of Confederation, and certain malcontents in his more immediate circle, incited by jealous ambition, set to work to discredit him in the minds of the electorate.

In December, a Conservative convention assembled at To-

ronto to do honor to Sir John A. Macdonald, on the fortieth anniversary of his entrance into public life. Manitoba was represented by Hon. John Norquay, and Hon. Alexander Murray, Speaker of the House, and the former presented a congratulatory address from the Conservatives of Manitoba. This circumstance was made much of by Mr. Norquay's enemies. The Liberals accused him of making a secret bargain with the Ottawa Government, by which the interests of Manitoba were to be sacrificed to serve his personal ambitions, and it was publicly stated and published in the newspapers that a Federal portfolio, or an important civil service appointment, was to be the price of his alleged perfidy.

Hon. Messrs. Norquay and Murray attended at Ottawa, during the Session of the Dominion Parliament, in furtherance of the Provincial demands. On their return to Winnipeg on the 28th Jan., 1885, they were presented with an address of welcome by the Conservative Association, and although they were reticent as to the result of their mission, which Mr. Norquay announced would be laid before the Legislature at an early date, it was generally presumed, from the bearing of the delegates and the hopeful tone of their remarks, that the terms which had been agreed upon would prove satisfactory when published. Nevertheless, the people were anxious to to hear the result of the negotiations, and the meeting of the Legislature was looked for with impatience. The suspense was relieved on the 23rd February, when Sir John A. Macdonald presented a message from the Governor-General, in which Manitoba's better terms were fully dealt with. The message transmitted to the House of Commons contained two approved minutes of Council, dated respectively the 20th May, 1884, and the 23rd January, 1885. We append the following extracts:—

"The Sub-Committee appointed to confer with Messrs. Murray and Norquay, of Manitoba, regarding the terms of settlement of the claims of that Province, have the honor to report that several meetings of the Sub-Committee have been held, and, after discussion, it was resolved that Mr. Pope should be requested to see Messrs. Murray and Norquay, and ascertain whether the terms to which the Sub-Committee were willing to advise assent, would be acceptable to them. The result of Mr. Pope's interview was the receipt of the following letter:—

OTTAWA, 10th January, 1885.

THE HONORABLE JOHN HENRY POPE,  
*Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa.*

SIR—Having been delegated by the Legislature of Manitoba to urge upon the Privy Council a reconsideration of its offer of the 20th May last, in settlement of the claims of the Province, we would respectfully suggest the following modifications as a basis of settlement :

That the Dominion pay the Province, annually, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars in lieu of lands.

That the debt capital in consideration of the above, be allowed a population of one hundred and twenty-five thousand, and that the Province name its right to re-embursement by the Dominion of costs incurred in the Government of the disputed territory, and the reference of the question of the settlement of the boundary between Ontario and Manitoba to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Although not authorized by the Legislature to accept any settlement, we are of opinion that the modification suggested, leaving the other items of subsidy and concessions offered in the despatch of the 20th May last, unchanged, would be favorably entertained by the Legislature.

We remain, Sir your obedient servants,

(Signed) A. MURRAY,  
*Speaker.*

(Signed) J. NORQUAY,  
*Provincial Treasurer.*

To this letter Mr. Pope, with the approbation of the Sub-Committee, replied, on the same day, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN—Adverting to a proposed agreement, in May last, for the purpose of settling questions in discussion between the Dominion and the Province of Manitoba, I recommend :

That such proposed agreement shall be modified by the propositions contained in the letter of Messrs. Murray and Norquay, of this day's date.

That Parliament should be asked to concur in such proposed agreement, as modified by such letter, on the condition that it be accepted by the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba as a settlement of all questions in discussion between that Province and the Dominion up to the date of this letter.

And further, that it be a condition, if such proposed agreement is not accepted by the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba at its next Session, as a full settlement of all questions discussed, it shall become null and void.

I have, etc., etc.,

(Signed)

J. H. POPE.

To the Honorable J. Norquay and the

Honorable A. Murray, Delegates from the

Legislature of the Province of Manitoba.

The Sub-Committee submitted this correspondence and advised that the terms and conditions set forth be sanctioned and adopted. Their recommendation was concurred in by the Committee, and approved by His Excellency. After this follows the Order-in-Council of 20th May, 1881, containing the terms then offered by the Ottawa Government. Taking those terms with the modifications agreed upon as above, the results of Messrs Norquay and Murray's negotiations were :—

1. An annual grant of \$100,000, in lieu of lands.
2. A capital account based on a population of 125,000. From this were to be subtracted the amounts drawn by the Province from the old capital, and sums expended by the Dominion Government on Manitoba's local works. These charges made a serious inroad upon the old capital account of \$551,000.
3. A per capita grant of 80 cents, on 150,000 of a population.
4. The swamp lands

5. A grant of 150,000 acres of land for University purposes.

This announcement of the latest better terms proposal of the Dominion Government caused a ferment of excitement in Manitoba. The increase of subsidy gave general satisfaction, as it was felt that the Province would be in a position to defray the expenses of government, without having to resort to direct taxation, as had been intimated by the Legislature at its last session: but the abandonment of all claim to her lands, and the unanswered demands regarding railways, extension of boundaries, etc., caused much unfavorable comment. The people had looked for a complete recognition of all their claims, as embodied in the "Bill of Rights," and this addition to the annual revenue (while more vitally important matters were ignored), was by no means all that they had anticipated.

The Winnipeg Reform Association hastened to formulate an elaborate platform in which they declared: That nothing less than an absolute equality with the other Provinces in the enjoyment of Provincial rights, would satisfy the settlers of Manitoba, and that any local Government that failed to insist upon such equality in every respect, would be recreant to its trust and unworthy of public confidence. That as the Provincial authorities had always been entitled to the ownership and control of the public lands, but the most valuable having been alienated from the Province for Federal purposes, they demanded ample compensation for the lands so disposed of. That the right of chartering local lines of railway having been secured by an Imperial Act, no act of the Canadian Parliament could take away or limit the right. Local lines of railway were of immediate necessity, and prompt and liberal public assistance ought to be extended to all enterprises of that character. That the local Government, in submitting to

the disallowance of acts clearly within the competence of the Provincial Legislature, and in failing to maintain the authority of the Legislature to charter local railways to the boundaries of the Province, had forfeited all claim to public support. That while the increase to the annual subsidy was a tardy admission of the injustice hitherto done to the Province in that regard, nothing short of having in their own hands the means of promoting the progress and developing the resources of the Province would satisfy the people of Manitoba. The existing tariff was especially oppressive to the farmers of Manitoba, unjust and indefensible, and urgently demanded modification and the adoption of a "revenue tariff." That the peculiar position of the settlers of Manitoba and the North-West Territories justified a demand for the adoption of differential duties, the principle of which was clearly recognized in the formation of the Province. The necessarily small representation of the Province in the House of Commons prevented the securing of full justice in Dominion legislation, and they, therefore, appealed to the electors to return members who would ally themselves with the Reform party, whose views most nearly agreed with the wants of the Province: The adoption of a ballot-system of voting in local elections; an immediate redistribution of seats in the Local Legislature; the revision and simplification of the municipal system; the promotion of immigration from Europe and the older Provinces; the building of a railway to the Hudson's Bay, and extension of the boundaries to its shores.

This platform was published throughout the Province, and the Farmers' Union being in accord with most, if not all, of its planks, the Liberals longed for an opportunity to measure swords with the party in power. The occasion was not long

in presenting itself. Attorney-General Millar had resigned his office towards the close of 1884, and the business of his department had been administered by Mr. L. W. Coutley, Deputy Attorney-General, until the 11th Feb., 1885, when Mr. C. E. Hamilton took office as Attorney-General. On the 19th Feb., Mr. Albert C. Killam was sworn in as a puisne Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, in the place of Mr. Justice Smith, who died on the 19th Jan., 1885. This left the seat for South Winnipeg vacant, and the new Attorney-General was chosen by the Conservative party to stand for it. He was opposed by Mr. W. F. Luxton, Editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, nominated by the Liberals, who announced his principles, by adopting the above mentioned platform in its entirety. The election took place 3rd March, 1885, and was keenly contested, each party marshalling all the forces at command, to capture what was considered the most important constituency in the Province. The result was a victory for the Government; Mr. Hamilton was returned by 77 majority—the vote being, Hamilton, 606; Luxton, 529.

The Farmers' Union met in convention at Winnipeg, on 4th March, 1885. The meeting was largely attended and several important resolutions were adopted, of which we may mention the following:—Reiterating the right of Manitoba to her public lands, and compensation for lands sold and used for Federal purposes; that the duties on agricultural implements and building materials be removed; the right of representation in the Dominion Cabinet; repudiating the action of the delegates to Ottawa (Messrs. Norquay and Murray), and pledging themselves to agitate constitutionally for a full redress of existing grievances; an equitable redistribution of seats, giving the people equal and just representation in the

Dominion and Local Parliaments; the enactment of a ballot law, for the purposes of all elections; amendments to the Municipal and School Acts, with a view to more economical administration, and a reduction of taxation; the encouragement of stock-raising, and the establishment of cheese factories and creameries; the management of trade with Great Britain, by a modification of the existing tariff, and the construction of a railway to Hudson's Bay; regarding the establishment of grades for wheat and other grains.

While the Farmers' Union Convention was in session, certain parties attempted to organize a "Secession League," with the avowed object of agitating for the secession of Manitoba from the Dominion. A meeting was called, but when the hour for opening the proceedings arrived, one man, a Mr. Stewart, farmer, of Romethwaite, who had constituted himself chairman, was the only person present who ventured to support the object of the meeting. This he did by reading a secession resolution, which he had moved a year before, at the meeting of the Farmers' Union, and which had not found a seconder at that time. After reading the resolution, he called on one of his associates in the movement to speak, but, to his surprise and disgust, the person thus honored, repudiated him and his resolution, denounced him as a traitor, and declared himself a staunch believer in the integrity of the Dominion and the British Empire. Mr. Stewart, deserted by his co-partners, was left to the mercy of an incensed crowd of loyal Canadians, and narrowly escaped from personal violence. Mr. George H. Ham, moved, "That the chairman of this meeting, Mr. Stewart, be a committee of one, to secede." This motion was carried amid an uproar of noise and laughter, and the unfortunate secessionist was ordered to carry it out forth-

with. He "seceded" as rapidly as possible, his exit being accelerated by volleys of eggs and other undesirable missiles, with which the boys present had armed themselves. A resolution was then adopted, declaring the unswerving loyalty of those present, to Confederation, and the meeting broke up, all present singing the national anthem as they departed.

The third Session of the fifth Legislature was opened by His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Aikins, on 19th March, 1885. The Speech from the Throne congratulated the members on the rapid construction of the C.P.R., east and west; the establishment of telegraph communication between Manitoba and the eastern Provinces, and British Columbia; the settlement of the boundary dispute, and intimated that measures would be brought down to facilitate the construction of local railways. Hon. Mr. Norquay presented the report of the "Better Terms" delegates early in the Session. The report recapitulated the various steps in the negotiations up to the time of the last meeting of the delegates with the members of the Federal Cabinet, and then goes on to explain the stand taken by the Ottawa Government on the different claims submitted, as follows:—In urging upon the Privy Council the views of the Legislature on the question of the public lands, the delegates were met with the argument that the Federal Government were administering the lands in as liberal a spirit towards the promotion of settlement and the encouragement of railway development as could be done by the Province itself, claiming that the purposes for which the public lands were claimed by the Province were being carried out by the Privy Council, and in support of this cited their compliance with the views of the Legislature, as expressed to them, requesting that the land grants to the Manitoba and North-western, and the Manitoba

South-western railways should be made free of charge. That inasmuch as they had the machinery for the administration of the lands in operation, it was problematical whether it would be to the advantage of the Province to have control of the lands, which would necessitate the establishment of a Provincial Lands Department and an Immigration bureau at a heavy cost to the Province. As an offset to claims for compensation for lands already disposed of, the Government submitted a memorandum embracing a variety of charges, from the cost of the Wolesley Expedition down to the latest appropriation for surveys, including the cost of Indian treaties, Indian annuities, the cost of the acquisition of the country from the Hudson's Bay Company, and other matters which aggregated far more than the amount of any compensation which the delegates could expect to realize from that claim. Though not admitting the value of this array of counter claims, and denying the bulk of them in toto, the delegates came to the conclusion that a further insistence of the claims of the Province in respect of the lands would be a doubtful advantage, if any at all.

With reference to a reduction of duties, the Government agreed that the tariff had contributed to the cheapening of articles rather than to increasing prices, and that they could not entertain the proposition of discriminating in favor of Manitoba, as they were aware of the fact that agricultural implements of Canadian manufacture were being sold cheaper in Manitoba than they were during the two previous years, and that the prospects were for a still further reduction, as competition increased.

In regard to school lands, the Minister of the Interior promised to place on the market such of those lands as the Gov-



Lord Stanley of Preston, G.C.B., P.C.

*(Now Lord Derby.)*



ernment of the Province should designate from time to time, as being likely to realize a fair value, and would be prepared to offer them at such upset price as would be recommended by the Provincial Government. Touching the per capita grant of 80 cents, the delegates were assured that that and the items of subsidy, based on debt capital and on population, should be elastic and susceptible of re-adjustment from time to time, whenever it became necessary to deal with them, on the same general principle common to all the Provinces; and that the acceptance of the proposed arrangement would not prejudice the future claims of the Province to reconsideration in any general re-adjustment that might be made by the Federal Government with the Provinces.

Asked to define the powers of the Province with reference to the chartering of railways, the Government replied that it was unanimously agreed upon by the Dominion Parliament, that the Canadian Pacific railway, being a national highway, should be protected from being tapped by lines of railway which would divert the traffic therefrom to the lines running through the United States; and that, as the faith of the country was pledged to the carrying out of such a policy, it was the duty of the Government to see that that faith should be maintained inviolate; and in the meantime, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had intimated that they would not object to any relaxation of that condition in their charter after the completion of the road north of Lake Superior, and that certainly after 1886, no further objection would be taken to lines across the International boundary.

With regard to the Hudson's Bay Railway, the delegates were told that the Government had granted a charter to a company to build a railway from Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay,

and subsidized the company with a liberal grant of lands along the proposed route, and that the purposes for which it was urged in the memorial, that the extension of the boundary should be made, was being carried out by the Federal Government. They also pointed out that a sum had been placed in the estimates to defray the expenses of explorations in Hudson's Bay. The report concluded with some correspondence which passed between the delegates and the Government, including the letters containing the delegates' proposals and their acceptance.

In moving the adoption of the report, Mr. Norquay made one of his most brilliant speeches. He referred to the importance of the question in its financial bearing on the future of Manitoba, and as involving the adhesion of the Province to Confederation. He had always urged the placing of his native Province upon an equal footing with the eastern provinces that entered Confederation in 1867; he had always contended that the people of Manitoba had been over-ridden by the opinions of the eastern sections of Canada, and he had striven for equality during the fifteen years that he had occupied a public position. He asked the Opposition to give him credit for having succeeded in bringing the claims of the Province so prominently before the attention of the Federal Government, that they had had to give the case the serious consideration it was entitled to. All he asked of the House was an impartial consideration of his conduct of public affairs, a fair criticism of his actions. He twitted the Opposition with not having originated an idea on any of the questions mooted in his budget speech of the previous year, and stigmatized their conduct—he having made use of the strongest arguments that he believed could induce the Federal Government to give him a

favorable hearing—as discreditable, unfair, and dishonest (because he had been unable to secure all that he had demanded at Ottawa) to brand him throughout the Province as a traitor to the interests of Manitoba. He claimed to have obtained for Manitoba a position she had never held before in the Dominion, and he might fairly look to the people for a renewal of the confidence they had reposed in him for the past fourteen years. He then reviewed the various negotiations for better terms that had taken place in the past, and contended that the offer now made to the Province justified the people of Manitoba in accepting it, as the amount proposed to be granted was equal to any that they could hope to realize by administering the public lands themselves. The Federal authorities had stated that if the public lands were ceded to the Province, they would have to exact from the Provincial Government a pledge that the same liberal homestead enactment which prevailed in the Dominion should be re-enacted by the Local Government, and that the same advantages should be offered to immigrants. This would be necessary as a matter of policy, as otherwise Manitoba's lands would not be taken up, and immigrants would go farther west, where free homesteads were obtainable. The acreage that would have to be granted under this arrangement, being the same as that granted by the Federal Government up to the end of 1883, would have been 3,744,156 acres. Then there were the 1,400,000 acres granted to the children of Half-breed heads of families, which would have been deducted. Then, 429,440 acres within the Province had been granted to the Manitoba and North-Western railway, but, as the road was entitled to 6,400 acres per mile, and as there were at least 175 miles of it within the Province, there had been granted in addition 1,120,000

acres over which the Province could have no control. He estimated the lands set apart for educational purposes at 1,000,000 acres. The available lands of the Province embraced 792 townships, of 23,040 acres each, or a total of 18,247,680 acres. The grants already enumerated, and those to the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Hudson's Bay Company, the South-Western Railway, the C. P. R. South-Western Branch, tree claims, grants to old settlers, Indian reserves, and the lands within the old settlement belt, amounting in all to 13,385,857 acres, would have to be deducted from the total of 18,247,680. The great area of unsurveyed lands in the north-east were more or less swampy, and would not be available for settlement for years to come. Hence he claimed that the bargain giving \$100,000 a year for the Province's equitable claim (it had never been acknowledged as a legal claim) should be accepted as being more than the Province itself could realize from the sale of the lands. While advocating the acceptance of the annual grant as the best that could be obtained, he believed it would be an equally good bargain for the Dominion.

Mr. Greenway sharply criticized the Premier's speech, comparing it with his previous declarations, and accused him of having abandoned his patriotic position of a year ago. He took up the Bill of Rights, clause by clause, and demonstrated how the demands of the Province had been slighted or ignored. He accused the Government of having deserted their policy of the last session, and accepted terms from the Dominion which were out of all proportion to what had been demanded, and degrading to the Province. The computation of the area of available lands and their value, he claimed, was incorrect and misleading. He calculated a total area of available lands, after deducting those already disposed of, at 22,-

000,000. These lands at a dollar an acre, would, capitalized at 5 per cent., realize \$1,100,000 annually, or eleven times as much as the Province was asked to accept in lieu of her lands. British Columbia, for a strip of mountain along the line of the C.P.R., received \$100,000 annually, or precisely what Manitoba was offered for her whole vast area of fertile lands. His strongest objection to accepting the terms was the existence of the clause which stated that this was to be "a settlement in full of all questions discussed between the Local and Federal authorities up to the 10th day of January last." Was this the manner in which the vital question of disallowance, which had retarded progress so much, was finally disposed of? He appealed to the members to stand firmly for the rights and just demands of the Province. If they accepted the terms as presented to the House, they barred the door to any future negotiations for more favorable treatment. "He had been asked if he would be willing to accept the terms, were the finality clause struck out. His answer was that he would accept the amount offered as so much on account, with the privilege of urging our claims again upon the Federal authorities." In concluding an able speech, he urged the members to rise in their might and strike out the finality clause. The debate lasted from 3 o'clock p.m., till 6 o'clock the next morning, speaker after speaker bringing to bear all the energy and eloquence at his command for or against the motion. At 5 o'clock in the morning, Mr. John H. Bell, member for Springfield, moved, seconded by Mr. E. Y. Conklin, Winnipeg North, "That while this Legislature reaffirms its position, as presented in the resolutions unanimously agreed to by this House at the last session, it is of the opinion that the terms now offered by the Dominion Government should be accepted as far

as they go, but on the condition that the settlement shall not be considered as a final and full settlement of our claims; and that this Province shall not be debarred from again pressing the just claims made in the Bill of Rights."

This amendment was objected to by Hon. Mr. La Riviere, on the ground that the mover having spoken to the motion, could not make the amendment. The Speaker upheld the objection and put the original motion, which was carried on a division, 17 to 9; three members being absent. The House adjourned at 6 a.m., the members singing "God Save the Queen."

The most important acts of this session were, the Land Titles Act, introducing the Torrens' system of registration; the Railway Aid Act, which provided to advance one dollar of Provincial 5 per cent. debentures per acre on any lands granted to railways, and in this way, by pledging the credit of the Province, enable the railway companies to raise funds for construction purposes—the Act provided for the repayment of the debentures, by the companies paying to the Government one-half the proceeds of every sale of land until the aid was paid up; an Act to aid the construction of the Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay Railway and Steamship Company. The end of the fiscal year was changed from 31st December to 30th June.

A resolution favoring a redistribution of seats, proposed by an Opposition member, passed without debate, but the Government announced that they were not prepared to bring down a Redistribution Bill at that session. Mr. Greenway introduced a Bill to provide for voting by ballot at elections to the Legislative Assembly, which was defeated on its second reading.

The final report of the Standing Committee on Public Ac-

counts detailed a number of irregularities which had been discovered with respect to expenditures in connection with the boundary dispute; and under the head of Unforeseen and Unprovided, several sums were either unaccounted for or were not accompanied by proper vouchers; unauthorized payments of moneys, and excessive payments for printing and other public services were also noted. The Committee's report was a severe commenting on the Government's management of the public funds, and the Opposition took advantage of it to move a resolution of want of confidence. The debate on the motion was still in progress when the Lieutenant-Governor arrived for the purpose of proroguing the House, and a vote was not reached.

While the Better Terms were being discussed in the Legislature, the Reform Association and the Farmers' Union were holding conventions at Winnipeg. Both assemblies passed resolutions condemning Mr. Norquay in unmeasured terms. The latter organization telegraphed a resolution to the Governor-General, in the following terms:—"My Lord,—I am instructed to forward the following:—Resolved that we, the delegates from the branches of the Farmers' Union throughout the Province of Manitoba, now assembled in convention in the City of Winnipeg, hereby solemnly protest against the acceptance of the terms offered by the Dominion Government, as a final settlement of the claims of Manitoba, and we humbly request that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to give this petition your earnest consideration before ratifying a settlement so distasteful to the majority of the inhabitants of Manitoba, and which, we humbly submit, will be ruinous to the future prosperity of the Province. And that Your Excellency will not assent to any measure confirming the accept-

ance of the said terms until the people of Manitoba have had the opportunity of expressing their opinions on the same at the polls, which they never have had, and full particulars of our complaints will be forwarded to Your Excellency by mail, and we beg to request that the same may be submitted to the Government of England."

Other organizations, variously styled, "Equal Rights," "Manitoba Rights," and "Provincial Rights," associations were formed at several points in the Province, all opposed to the acceptance of the Better Terms, and all opposed to Mr. Norquay and his government. The outbreak of the Half-Breeds and Indians on the North Saskatchewan, and the disquieting manifestoes of the different political societies, accounts of which were extensively published, threatened to impede, if not entirely hinder, immigration to the Province and the North-West. The Legislature, Board of Trade, City Council, and other public bodies, therefore, held meetings and issued posters calculated to refute the alarming and damaging reports, for distribution in the Eastern Provinces and the principal emigration depôts of Great Britain and Europe.

The Farmers' Union resolved to present their grievances to the Queen, and supplemented the telegram we have quoted by an elaborate statement of the claims of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, to the constitutional rights of a Province under the British North America Act, 1867, which was forwarded to Lord Lansdowne, with a request that it be transmitted to Her Majesty. The statement made 90 pages of a pamphlet, and was a very able exposition of the case of Manitoba and the North-West, although its arguments were somewhat marred in places by the interpolation of personalities.

The spring and summer of 1885 was the most exciting period in the history of the North-West. The Saskatchewan rebellion and the persistent agitation of the numerous associations, leagues and unions, all clamoring for their "rights," and the redress of grievances, made up a grand total of social and political disturbance, which had seldom been equalled in Canada. That grievances did exist, no one will deny, but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the evils were greatly exaggerated and out of proportion to the vehement methods adopted for their reform. The rebellion, deplorable as it was, had the effect of attracting the attention of the world to the Canadian North-West, the country became known in quarters where it had hitherto been only a name, and great good accrued from the lamentable family quarrel, in the increased interest which was manifested towards Canada, and which is gradually but surely filling up our vacant spaces with a desirable population, and extending our trade and industries.

Lord Lansdowne, Governor-General of Canada, visited the North-West in September, 1885, and was accorded a hearty welcome at every stage of his tour. His Excellency arrived at Winnipeg on the 16th September, and was received by Lieutenant-Governor Aikins, members of the Provincial Government, the City Council and a large assemblage of citizens. A guard of honor escorted His Lordship to Government House, and in the afternoon a public reception was tendered him in City Hall square where an address of welcome was read and replied to by the distinguished guest. Addresses were also presented by the University Council, the Council of St. John's College, Manitoba College Board, and other institutions. The Governor-General visited Portage la Prairie, Morden, Manitou, Minnedosa, Brandon, Neepawa, Gladstone, Westbourne, and

other provincial towns. He then proceeded westward, meeting with enthusiastic receptions at all the towns along the line. At Lethbridge, Lord Lansdowne formally opened the Galt Railway, just completed from Dunmore to that point, and from thence went overland to the Blood reserve, Fort McLeod, and Blackfoot Crossing, thence by rail to Calgary and through the Rocky Mountains to Donald, the end of the C.P.R. track.

On his return to Winnipeg, on the 22nd October, a grand reception awaited His Excellency. A torch-light procession, illumination, fireworks, and a parade of the military and fire brigade, and a general and enthusiastic turn-out of the citizens, testified to Winnipeg's loyalty to Her Majesty, in thus honoring her representative. The following day was devoted to opening the new drill shed, visits to the schools and other public institutions. St. Boniface was visited, and congratulatory addresses presented and responded to, the pupils of the convent entertaining their visitor with some choice vocal and instrumental music. The closing event of His Excellency's visit to the North-West was his participation in an elaborate *dejeuner*, at which Winnipeg's principal citizens assembled to do him honor. Lord Lansdowne, on that occasion, delivered an eloquent and, in many respects, a notable speech, describing his journey through the country, and his impressions of what he had seen. Speaking of the Bell farm, where he had witnessed the results of wheat-raising on an extensive and systematic scale, His Lordship said: "I should be sorry, moreover, to look forward to a future for this country, in which it shall become nothing better than a huge wheat field, upon which the human beings would not be much more numerous than the self-binders. I say this, because, in the first place, wheat-growing is not farming in the proper sense of the word,

and however great the fertility of the soil, I question whether there is any which will stand continuous wheat-production without eventual deterioration. If I had to describe the future which I should desire for your province, I should say that I hope to see it one day resemble a portion of Ontario, through which I have lately had the pleasure of travelling, a district divided into farms of a moderate size, equipped with comfortable homesteads, and devoted to mixed farming."

The first issue of Provincial bonds was made in December, 1885, when £233,300 Province of Manitoba 5 per cent. bonds were placed on the London market. The bonds were to run from the 1st January, 1886, to the 1st July, 1910. They were offered at a minimum price of 105½, at which price the yield to the investor, allowing for ultimate redemption at par, would be £4 13s. per cent., considerably higher than the bonds of Quebec or Ontario.\* Tenders were received for £407,130, or £163,830 in excess of the whole issue, which was disposed of at £106 14s.; the highest bid being £110 10s., and the lowest £105 10s. Manitoba's credit was fairly established on a substantial basis, and subsequent sales of lands have been equally successful.

The wheat crop of 1885 was impaired by frost on the 25th August. It did not affect the whole Province, but appeared in streaks; in some instances one portion of a field was badly damaged while the rest escaped injury. The total shipments of wheat in 1885 amounted to 2,429,832 bushels, a large increase over former years, and representing a total yield of nearly 4,000,000 bushels.

During the recess, the Opposition had industriously cultivated the spirit of antagonism to the Government, which had taken root when the Better Terms had been accepted by Mr.

Norquay and ratified by the House. There was a feeling abroad, though not a universal one, that the Government had capitulated to the Dominion, in consideration of the improved financial arrangement, and abandoned the more vital principles which they had declared for—the securing of the public lands to the Province, and the all important independence in the chartering of Provincial railways. The Opposition, though in a hopeless minority in the House, found their strength and support in the country, and, emboldened by the assurance of popular sympathy, they inaugurated a campaign of persistent criticism and obstruction which caused the Government considerable embarrassment, and made the Session of 1886 unusually lively and exciting.

The Legislature assembled on the 4th January, 1886. Before the Speech from the Throne had been considered, Mr. Greenway rose to a question of privilege. On the last day of the last Session he had moved a vote of want of confidence in the Government, but before the debate on his motion was closed, or the question put to the House, the Lieutenant-Governor had arrived, and prorogued the Legislature. In re-introducing the motion he bitterly criticised the Government for having burked the resolution on the previous occasion, and arraigned them on several charges of alleged extravagance and irregularity in the administration of the revenue. After a short but lively debate, the motion was defeated on a division. Yeas, 8 ; Nays, 16.

On the 28th March, 1886, an Order-in-Council was passed at Ottawa disallowing the Manitoba Central and the Emerson and North-Western Railway Acts. This action of the Dominion was in line with their oft-enunciated railway policy, but it caused a storm of protest in Manitoba. A delegation of Win-

nipeg business men had waited upon the Legislature, asking that a resolution be adopted and forwarded to the Governor-General, praying that the Manitoba Central charter should not be disallowed. The Order-in-Council, published a few days after the delegation had presented their petition, appeared to them as a direct insult, and they were violently indignant in consequence. In the House, Mr. Norquay and his supporters defended the action of the Dominion Government, in disallowing the charters of railways intended to connect with United States roads, in direct competition with the Canadian Pacific. The Opposition contended that the Dominion's action was a usurpation of authority, which was contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. Mr. Greenway moved that as the people of the Province had been led to believe that so soon as the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, the policy of disallowance would be abandoned; and that an address be forwarded to the Governor-General, praying that there be no further interference with the rights of Manitoba in respect to chartering railways. He quoted Sir Charles Tupper's speech on the railway resolutions, in 1884, in which the Minister of Railways stated, "that when the line is constructed north of Lake Superior, the Government feel it will not be incumbent upon them to preserve the position they have hitherto felt bound to preserve, that of refusing to consent to the construction of lines within the Province of Manitoba, connecting it with American railways to the south." He contended that the general Railway Act, under which the Premier claimed that lines might be constructed, was of no value, as it did not contain such provisions as were necessary in order that railways should be constructed. It did not provide for the power to make notes, to issue bonds, to make running arrangements with other

roads, to make working arrangements, to amalgamate with or purchase other lines and branch lines, to establish a London agency and business office, to expropriate lands, or to accept aid in grants of lands or bonuses. The Act was so constructed that nothing could be accomplished under its provisions. Mr. Greenway's motion was defeated by 18 votes to 8. The Government then passed a resolution asking the Ottawa authorities to communicate to the Legislature the reasons which led to such disallowance. The Opposition ridiculed the Government's action, characterizing it childish and undignified, and offered an amendment censuring the Dominion Government, and reasserting the right of the Province to charter railways within its limits. The amendment met the fate of their former motion. The disallowance of the Manitoba Central Railway charter could hardly be regarded as a grievance—unless from the point of view of general principle—for such was the corruption disclosed in connection with it before the Railway Committee of the Dominion House, that there was no possibility of the road being gone on with.

Certain alleged irregularities, in which the Hon. John Norquay was specially named, having been discovered in the Public Works and Treasurer's Departments, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate them. Chief Justice Wallbridge acted as Commissioner. Messrs. H. M. Howell, Q. C., N. F. Hagel, Q. C., and W. R. Mulock, appeared as counsel for the Government, while Messrs. J. B. McArthur, Q. C., J. S. Ewart, Q. C., and S. C. Briggs, Q. C., presented the cases against the Administration. The Commission commenced its sittings on the 27th March, and sat from time to time till the 21st May, when a report was presented, fully exonerating Mr. Norquay from any intention of wrong doing in connection with the matters alleged against him.

Towards the end of the Session, the Opposition made another effort to force an expression of opinion on disallowance from the House. Mr. Greenway moved, "That the Dominion Government be requested to make arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to obtain an absolute and unconditional surrender of all rights and privileges in the matter of monopoly, and thus secure to Manitoba, and the future North-West Provinces, similar powers to those enjoyed by the other Provinces of Confederation in respect to the chartering of lines of railway." The Government moved an amendment, which was adopted, "That the Government of Canada be asked to make such arrangement when the main line of the Canadian Pacific was completed and open for traffic through its whole length, and that in the meantime companies desiring to construct railways should avail themselves of the provisions of existing railway acts, *i. e.*, The Railway Act of Manitoba, and An Act to Encourage the Building of Railways in Manitoba." These acts permitted the building of railways from one point to another within the old limits of the Province, and did not allow connection with foreign lines.

The estimates for the year ending 30th June, 1887, showed a total revenue of \$526,869.81, and a proposed expenditure of \$466,400.76. The expenditures for printing and salaries were very large, and out of proportion with the revenue, and great exception was taken to them by the Opposition. The public printing bill for 1885 had amounted to \$46,224.92. A re-distribution bill was passed providing for 35 members instead of 31. The ballot system of voting was also adopted at this session. The Hudson's Bay Railway Act, 1885, was amended by extending the time for the commencement and completion of the work, and a committee was appointed to collect informa-

tion regarding the practicability of the route, and to report to the House. The act of 1885 provided that, on the completion of a line of railway from the shores of Hudson's Bay to some point on the Canadian Pacific, within the Province of Manitoba, the Province should give the Company \$1,000,000 in Provincial debentures, bearing interest at 4 per cent. per annum. The promoters of the railway asked that this aid be changed to a Provincial guarantee of four per cent. per annum upon four and a half millions of the bonds of the company for a period of twenty-five years, no payment to be made on account of such guarantee until the road was completed. The amendment to the Act granting the additional aid, and the appointment of the committee, was, therefore, very satisfactory to the company. The Legislature was prorogued on the 28th May, after a four months' session—the longest, and, in point of acrimonious debate, the most remarkable as yet held in Manitoba. In the heat of argument members often forgot the rules of parliamentary practice, and personal recriminations, charges of insincerity, falsehood and dishonesty, were freely indulged in, and personal encounters were, in some instances, but narrowly avoided.

The Dominion Lands Act was amended in several important particulars in the interests of settlers during the Dominion Session of 1886. Homestead entries were allowed to be made by agents; settlers were to commence cultivation within six months after entry, and erect a habitable dwelling within two years, but actual residence on the homestead was not required until the third year. Greater facilities were given for the securing of patents. Second homesteads were abolished, and pre-emptions were to be discontinued after the 1st of January, 1890.

Dominion Day, 1886, was signalized by the arrival at Winnipeg of the first transcontinental train from Montreal to Vancouver. The citizens marked the important event by the presentation of a congratulatory address to the president and directors of the Canadian Pacific, represented on the occasion by Mr. John M. Egan, General-Superintendent.

On the 28th August, a change was made in the Provincial Cabinet, Hon. A. A. C. Larimere becoming Provincial Treasurer; Hon. C. P. Brown, Provincial Secretary; Hon. D. H. Wilson, Minister of Public Works; Hon. John Norquay, Provincial Treasurer and Railway Commissioner; and Hon. D. H. Harrison, Minister of Agriculture, Statistics and Health, a new portfolio.

Sir John A. Macdonald made a tour of the North-West during the summer of 1886. Arriving at Winnipeg on the 14th July, accompanied by Lady Macdonald, he rested for a day and then made several short excursions to Southern Manitoba and points on the different branch lines. He received a royal ovation everywhere; political differences seemed forgotten for the time being, and one and all vied with each other in doing honor to Canada's chief statesman. An immense concourse assembled at the presentation of Winnipeg's civic address to the Premier, and the applause which greeted his reply was hearty and spontaneous. On his return from the Pacific coast, Sir John took part in a Conservative convention at Winnipeg. His speech on the occasion was one of those happy oratorical efforts for which he was famous, which served to make his hearers forget their party differences, and inspired them with hope and confidence in the enthusiasm which his words engendered.

The promoters of the Hudson's Bay Railway applied to the

Local Government, under the Railways Aid Act, for assistance to enable them to begin construction, and an Order-in-Council was passed, granting them aid at the rate of \$6,400 per mile, for forty miles from Winnipeg, northerly. Work was commenced in the fall of 1886, and the forty miles were graded and the rails laid in an incredibly short time.

The dissolution of the Legislature having been foreshadowed in the prorogation speech, the politicians had a busy summer, preparing for the general elections which were known to be not far distant. Conventions were held at Winnipeg and other points by the Liberals and Conservatives, and each party nominated candidates for the coming struggle. A proclamation dissolving the Legislature was issued on the 11th November, 1886, and the general elections were held on the 9th December. The redistribution of seats, creating four new constituencies, had inspired the opponents of the Government with a hope that they would succeed in returning enough members to force Mr. Norquay's resignation, but, where a complete rout of the Government forces had been looked for, the result of balloting was somewhat of a surprise. The elections resulted in the return of 21 Government supporters and 14 Opposition. All the candidates had declared themselves, more or less emphatically, as opposed to the policy of disallowance. "Anti-Disallowance" was the watchword of the campaign, and he would have been a bold aspirant for legislative honors who dared to ignore it in his canvass or on the hustings. Better Terms were almost lost to memory in the intensity of the feeling in favor of provincial rights, in the matter of railway charters. In the Dominion elections, which followed closely upon the Provincial contests, the same issue was made the crucial test of every candidate; Conservative and Liberal

alike, were forced to accept it as their shibboleth before they ventured to ask the vote of a single free and independent.

The Dominion elections took place on the 22nd February, and the following members were returned for the Manitoba constituencies:—Winnipeg, W. B. Scarth, Conservative; Lisgar, A. W. Ross, Conservative; Provencher, Joseph Royal, Conservative; Marquette, Robert Watson, Liberal.

The winter was an eventful one, so far as politics were concerned. No sooner had the smoke of combat cleared from the scene of the general elections, than a new excitement was created by the organization of Disallowance Associations among the Conservatives and Liberals. The former pledged their support to the Dominion and Local Governments on every question excepting disallowance, while the latter opposed both on every question, and especially on disallowance.

The Opposition members elect held a caucus in March and adopted and published the following platform:—"We, the undersigned Liberal members of the present Legislature, recognizing the necessity of a change in the management of the affairs of the Province, and the great importance of immediate legislation upon certain matters, will give any government formed from the members of the present House a general support, if they enact, at the first session of the Legislature, the following legislation:—

1. Charter lines of railway from the International boundary in the old Province to any other point in Manitoba, and further undertake to assert and enforce the rights of the Legislature in this respect, financially or otherwise, as circumstances may require, that at the earliest possible moment additional railway facilities may be secured to the Province.

2. A fair Redistribution Measure.

3. A new Franchise Act, based upon six months residence and one vote for one man.

4. A simplification and cheapening of the working of the Municipal System.

Said Government also adopting and carrying out the following policy :—

1. A curtailment of the expenses of Government, so that the largest amount possible may be devoted to relieving the present burdens of the people.

2. All the assistance, within the power of the Province, to secure the early completion of the Hudson's Bay Railway.

3. An energetic Immigration and Colonization policy, that will lead to early settlement of our vacant lands, and the development of the Province.

4. An increased Subsidy.

(Signed)	THOMAS GREENWAY.	DANIEL MCLEAN.
	W. F. LUXTON.	A. F. MARTIN.
	JOSEPH MARTIN.	JOHN A. MACDONELL.
	JAS. A. SMART.	WM. WINRAM.
	S. J. THOMPSON.	FINLAY M. YOUNG.
	KENNETH MCKENZIE.	R. S. THOMPSON.
	JOHN CRAWFORD.	

The Legislature was called for dispatch of business on the 14th April. The Honorable David Glass, Q.C., was elected Speaker. The Speech from the Throne intimated pretty plainly that Mr. Norquay had grasped the horns of the disallowance dilemma, and was prepared to grapple once more with that irritating question. One clause read:—"You will be asked to give your attention to the passage of a measure to authorize the Government of the Province to construct, or

operate, or lease, a line of railway from the City of Winnipeg to a point at or near the Town of West Lynne." Another:—"You will be asked to provide the necessary authority for an appeal to the Imperial Government for relief, should the policy of disallowing railway charters, intended to operate wholly within the limits of the old Province of Manitoba, be persisted in by the Federal authorities."

Immediately after the delivering of the speech, Mr. Norquay introduced a bill to incorporate the Manitoba Central Railway Company, with power to build a line from Winnipeg southerly to the forty-ninth parallel, to a point in or near township one, ranges two and three east of the first principal meridian, with branches, and a line from Winnipeg to Portage la Prairie. Hon. Mr. Hamilton introduced a bill to incorporate the Winnipeg and Southern Railway Company, for a line from Winnipeg, south or south-east, to the International boundary. The rules were then suspended, and both bills put through their second and third readings. No opposition was offered to the passage of these measures, on the contrary, Mr. Greenway congratulated the Government on the independent stand which they had taken, and their conversion to the principles for which the Opposition had fought for many years. The railway bills were assented to by the Lieutenant-Governor, and forwarded to Ottawa.

A few days afterwards, Mr. Norquay introduced a bill to authorize the construction of the Red River Valley Railway. He explained the object of the bill, and its great importance. It was intended to supply a means of communication, independent of those already enjoyed, with the southern extremity of the Province. It might be deemed superfluous in view of the two Acts already passed, but, to carry out their

promises, the Government were determined to use every available resource to bring about the object so universally desired. Provision was made for the building of a line from Winnipeg to West Lynne, by the Government, or under their supervision or auspices. A charter had been granted under the Railway Aid Act for a similar line, but as its promoters expected a subsidy from the Province the Government considered that it would be more in the public interest to construct and keep control of the road, so that any profit accruing from it might be used to increase the revenue. An important feature of the measure was that no company availing themselves of the privileges of the road could obtain any exclusive rights; the road should be held open to all who chose to avail themselves of its advantages—a Provincial Railroad highway, open to all companies who desired to extend their lines and compete for the business of the country. The bill provided for the issue of debentures to the extent of one million dollars; that sum being deemed necessary if the Government built, equipped and operated the road. The Act was passed without a division, the only objection raised was to the estimated cost which was thought to be excessive, and on the 31st of May it was assented to by the Lieutenant-Governor.

After the passage of the Red River Valley Railway bill, a resolution was adopted that in the event of obstacles arising that would interfere with the building and completion of the road, the House should be called together forthwith to consider measures for the completion of the railway, and the members pledged themselves to waive their rights to a sessional allowance for the extra session, if one should be found necessary.

While the Red River Valley Railway Act was before the House, Mr. Norquay received the following telegram:—

MONTREAL, 18th May, 1887.

HON. JOHN NORQUAY—I am informed that resolutions are in progress, if not already completed, between your Government and others, and the Northern Pacific Railway Company, with the view of giving that company an independent connection with Winnipeg. I cannot but regard this as an act of undeserved hostility towards the Canadian Pacific Railway which in the end will do nothing but hurt to Manitoba and the North-West; and further, I consider it to be a breach of faith towards the holders of the \$134,000,000 private capital invested in the Canadian Pacific Railway securities. If the mischievous agitation in favor of diverting the business of the North-West into American channels is continued, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is to be treated as a public enemy by the people of Winnipeg, the company will at once take steps to establish their principal western shops at Fort William, which, from an operating point of view, has many advantages, leaving nothing at Winnipeg but the ordinary division shops. Pray do not be mistaken, this is not an idle threat, it is a fixed purpose taken after full consideration.

(Signed)

GEO. STEPHEN,  
*President C. P. R. Co.*

The reading of this despatch in the House was received with a storm of hisses and cries of "shame." Mr. Norquay replied as follows:—

WINNIPEG, 20th May, 1887.

SIR GEORGE STEPHEN, Montreal—Cannot understand how your company can construe contemplated action of Provincial Government to build a railway to southern boundary as breach of faith to holders of Canadian Pacific Railway securities. Government is acting on behalf of Province, uninfluenced by Winnipeg's attitude towards C. P. R., or C. P. R.'s contemplated removal of workshops.

(Signed)

JOHN NORQUAY.

The people of the Province generally, and, in particular, those of Winnipeg, resented this threat on the part of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which, acting like oil upon a fire, only seemed to intensify the feeling of hostility to the road, which was denounced at mass meetings as an intolerable monopoly whose power must be crushed, even if the Province had to secede from Confederation to free herself

from the galling chains of railway despotism. A delegation of Winnipeg business men was sent to Ottawa to reason with the Government, and endeavor to obtain a modification of the monopoly clause, or its abrogation. Sir John A. Macdonald told the delegates that the question was one which Parliament would have to decide, and as Mr. Robert Watson, member for Marquette, had given notice of the introduction of anti-disallowance resolutions, the Government could take no action in the premises until the House had given an expression of opinion by their votes. The debate on Mr. Watson's resolutions was delayed by other business until late in the session, and when they were finally voted upon, on 27th May, they were negatived by 113 to 65. Three Manitoba members, Messrs. Robert Watson, W. B. Searth, and T. M. Daly, voted with the minority; A. W. Ross, and Joseph Royal, casting their votes with the Government. The North-West members, D. W. Davis, Alberta; D. H. Macdonald, Saskatchewan, and W. D. Perley, Assiniboia East, voted with the majority: N. F. Davin, Assiniboine West, did not vote.

The result was not unexpected, for it had been clearly shown that the excess of public opinion was in favor of safeguarding the interests of the C.P.R., as a national enterprise, even if local interests were made to suffer by the continuance of such a policy. The theory, founded on the profound political maxim that the good of the individual must subserve the interests of the State, was most unpalatable in its application to Manitoba, which occupied the unenviable position of the individual among her sister Provinces, and her people refused to recognize its justice. The Provincial Government resolved on the building of the Red River Valley Railway in defiance of the Dominion, and the people heartily applauded their determination.

The Hudson's Bay Railway and Steamship Company's Act was amended at this session, ratifying the guarantee of four per cent. on \$4,500,000, but altering the terms of payment.

When the estimates came under discussion, it was found that the items for printing had increased very largely, and that the Government had made contracts for the public printing for four years, dating from the 1st February, 1887, without having called for tenders. This action was vigorously attacked by the Opposition, and resulted in a resolution being introduced by Hon. Dr. Harrison, providing that existing contracts for printing be cancelled on the 1st August, 1887, and that, in the meantime, a bill be introduced to regulate the public printing. Hon. C. P. Brown went even further than his colleague. He acknowledged that the printing was costing more than double what it should, and moved that the contracts should be cancelled and tenders called for forthwith. Mr. Brown's amendment, which was practically in line with a motion introduced by the Opposition, was negatived, and Dr. Harrison's carried. The Opposition made a determined effort to cut down the estimates, many items of which were extravagant, but the Government majority carried nearly every item, on a division.

The Legislature was prorogued on the 10th June, and on the day before, Mr. Norquay presented resolutions, which were adopted unanimously, and of the following purport:—That should the work of constructing the Red River Valley Railway be delayed or obstructed by the disallowance of the Act, the Railway Commissioner be empowered to cause specifications to be prepared for the work, material and rolling-stock necessary, and to invite tenders and enter into contracts for the construction and operation of the road. And that if disal-

lowance should be further exercised in reference to charters granted by the Legislature for the construction of railways within the limits of the old Province, the Government were authorized to submit the case of the Province in appeal from the action of the Federal Government, and to pray that Her Majesty might be pleased to order that the Province be allowed to exercise her constitutional rights in that respect.

The Federal Government disallowed the Red River Valley Railway Act, and also those incorporating the Manitoba Central, and Emerson and North-Western Railways, which had been re-enacted during the session. An Act amending the Public Works Act, which provided that injunction proceedings would not apply as a hindrance to the progress of works undertaken by the Government, was also disallowed. An extra of the *Manitoba Gazette* was immediately issued, proclaiming the Red River Valley Railway to be a public work within the meaning of The Public Works Act, 1885, which had been more than two years in existence, and therefore beyond the power of the Ottawa Government to disallow.

On the 2nd July, the first sod of the Red River Valley Railway was turned by Hon. John Norquay, assisted by Mr. Lyman M. Jones, Mayor of Winnipeg, in presence of an immense gathering, who had assembled to celebrate the important ceremony. A man stood by with a wheelbarrow to remove the earth, as it was spaded up by the Premier, but his office proved a sinecure, for no sooner was a spadeful detached from the soil than it was eagerly snatched up by enthusiastic relic-hunters, who bore it away in triumph, to be preserved as a memento of the historic event. After the sod turning, Mr. Norquay was presented with a gold pin by Mayor Jones, of Winnipeg, and Mayor Adams, of Brandon. The pin bore the

inscription · “ Presented to Premier Norquay, July 2nd, 1887, when the first sod of the Red River Valley Railway was turned.” The contract for the construction of the road was made with Mesers. Harris and Haney, and on the 13th July grading was commenced at different points, the intention being to have the work completed by the 1st September. When grading had proceeded as far as the parish of St. Agathe, the C.P.R. hastily constructed a spur track from their Gretna branch, to cross the projected line of the Red River Valley Railway, and a Mr. J. M. Blackburn, the owner of two farms which the new line had to cross, took out an injunction to restrain the Railway Commissioner and the contractors from continuing the work. The contractors went on, in defiance of the injunction, and finished the grade over the disputed territory, taking advantage of the fact that they had not been actually served with the papers. Other injunctions were also issued, but the most of the grading was done so rapidly, that it was finished before any of the suits could be heard or determined. A report having got abroad that Sir John A. Macdonald had stated that he would ask the aid of Imperial troops to prevent the construction of the road, the matter was brought up in the British Parliament, where the rumor was emphatically denied by Lord Lansdowne in a cablegram to the Colonial Secretary. The Governor-General's despatch gave the reason for the disallowance :—“ The Provincial Act for the construction of the Red River Valley Railway was disallowed by me on the advice of responsible advisers, on the ground that the proposed line would tap the traffic of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and would thereby seriously injure the interests of the whole country, which had submitted to a large sacrifice in order to unite the Provinces by a national road.”

The situation was still further complicated on the 10th September, when Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice, appeared as petitioner to two bills of complaint, praying for injunctions against the road, on the ground that it was being constructed over Dominion lands without the permission or consent of the Government.

During this time, Honorable Messrs. Norquay and Lariviere were absent in the east trying to raise funds to build the railway. Under the untoward circumstances which had arisen, and the hostility to the project exhibited by the Government and the C.P.R., it is scarcely to be wondered at that their mission was a failure. Capitalists would not entertain the proposal of contributing to an enterprise which promised to result in expensive and interminable litigation. On 1st October, all the sub-contractors on the road were notified by the solicitors of the Provincial Government to stop work, want of funds to meet the estimates being assigned as a reason. Mr. Norquay returned from his unsuccessful trip on 3rd October, and on the 11th the Government announced an issue of Provincial bonds to the aggregate amount of \$300,000, in denominations of \$50, \$100, and \$500, payable on October 1st, 1888, and bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly. These bonds were issued for the purpose of liquidating the amounts due on the Red River Valley Road. The announcement of the issue was received with a great show of enthusiasm by a number of Winnipeg business men, and a resolution was introduced in the City Council proposing that the city should purchase one half the bonds, but that, and subsequent negotiations for their purchase *en bloc*, were hedged about with such conditions and restrictions that they resulted in nothing but a vast amount of frothy speech-mak-

ing and abortive conferences between members of the Government and citizens' committees. The bonds disposed of were bought in small amounts by individual investors, and aggregated but an inconsiderable amount of the whole issue. Yet the men who hesitated to invest their money in the Red River Valley Railway were loudest in their demands that it should be built forthwith, and most violent in denouncing Mr. Norquay and his colleagues for their failure to push it to completion. In November the injunctions—Attorney-General of the Dominion *vs.* Ryan *et al.*, were granted by Mr. Justice Killam, who held that the Government of the Province, or the contractors, had no right to construct the line through Dominion lands.

The Government, balked in their endeavor to construct the road, made a contract with Mr. Herbert Holt, on 19th October, under which the contractor was bound to complete the road by the 1st day of June, 1888, "unless prevented from so doing by legal or military force."

For a short time the public mind was at rest, or at least gave no outward sign of activity, apart from the diurnal thunders of rival newspapers, which maintained their accustomed warfare with more or less vigor. On the 28th November, however, the storm which had been brewing burst suddenly, and the political sky was once more obscured by menacing clouds that threatened destruction to the Government. Mr. Edward P. Leacock, member for Russell, on that day presented a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, in which he made startling charges of maladministration and breach of faith against Mr. Norquay and his colleagues. The petition drew His Honor's attention to the act that the resolution adopted by the Legislature during the last session, which pro-

vided for the calling of the House for the dispatch of business forthwith when any obstacle should interfere with the building of the Red River Valley Railway, had been ignored. That the Holt contract had been made without statutory or legal authority, and that under that contract the Government had agreed, without authorization of the Legislature, to guarantee and endorse the bonds of the Manitoba Construction Company for the sum of \$550,000, and further had agreed to make a sale of the railway to Holt. That in February, 1887, the Government had transferred to Messrs. Mann & Holt, contractors for the Hudson's Bay Railway, bonds of the Province to the amount of \$256,000, without having first received a transfer of 256,000 acres of land from the Railway Company as security for the said lands. That His Honor's consent to such transfer had been obtained through misrepresentation, and that previous to the Order-in-Council of February, under which the transfer was made, some members of the Government, without any authority whatever, transferred to Mann and Holt \$128,000 of the bonds of the Province, a portion of the \$256,000, for which the Government received no security. That in these two great enterprises—the Hudson's Bay Railway and the Red River Valley Railway—in which the Government had engaged within the past year, involving \$1,000,000 of the funds of the Province, the Government had been, and were then, proceeding illegally, without the authority of the Legislature, and in direct violation of their pledges to the Legislature and the people, and that they had no asset of any kind to show for such expenditure. That the Province was without resources, her cheques dishonored, her contractors unpaid, her credit gone. The petitioner prayed that the Legislature be convened forthwith, and pledged himself to substan-

tiate on the floor of the House the allegations set forth in his petition.

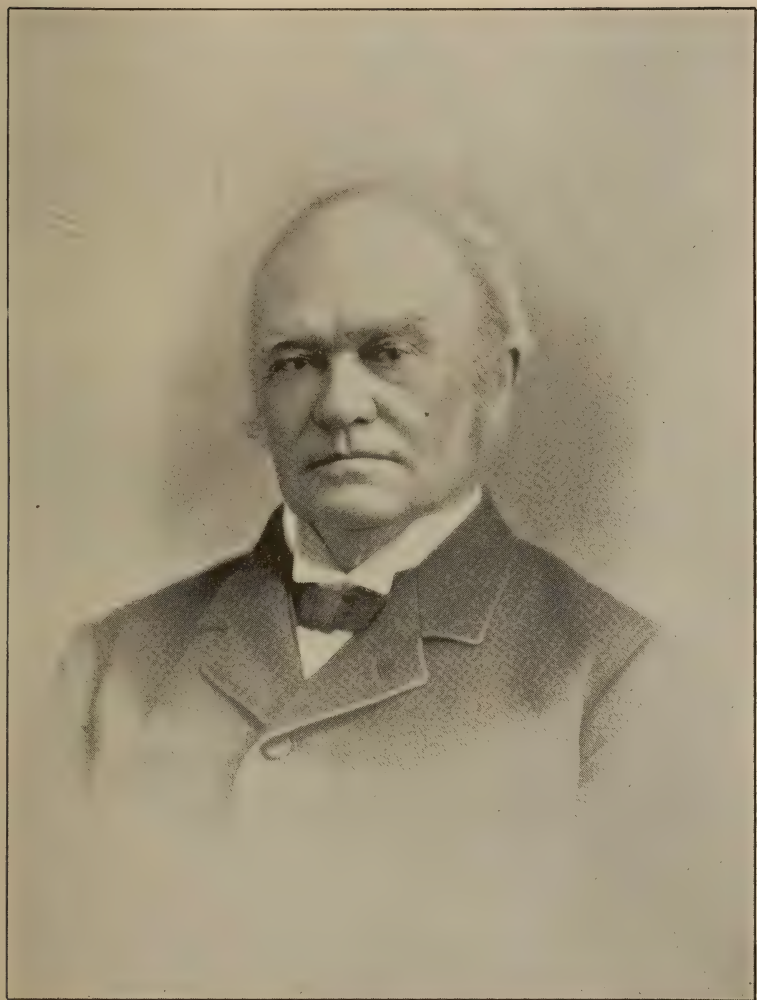
Mr. Leacock's action was severely criticized by friends and opponents alike: he had been Mr. Norquay's *fides Achates* for years, and it was universally held that, even if all the statements and charges of his petition were true, he was the last one who should pose as the accuser of his political chief, friend, and patron. But the Government were *in extremis*, the treasury was empty, and the sycophants and fair weather friends of "honest John Norquay," who had misguided his policy and flattered his mistakes, were now eager to betray and assist in his downfall. It appears that the transfer of bonds to Mann and Holt had been made on the strength of a telegram from Mr. Lariviere, who was in Ottawa at the time, to Mr. Norquay, assuring the latter that the lands would be assigned to the Government by an Order-in-Council. When the petition was made public, Hon. Messrs. Lariviere and Harrison hastened to Ottawa to ask Sir John A. Macdonald to carry out his promise to transfer the Hudson's Bay Land Grant to the Province, but he denied having made such a promise, and repudiated all knowledge of the transaction. Upon the Ministers' return to Winnipeg, a Government caucus was held on 22nd December, at which the Honorable Messrs. Norquay and Lariviere tendered their resignations, which were accepted, and the Honorable Dr. Harrison was chosen as leader. In resigning the power which he had held for fourteen eventful years, Mr. Norquay made an honest, simple statement of the causes which determined him to take this step. He declared his loyalty to his native Province, whose interests he had held dearer than aught else in life. He had earnestly striven to build the Red River Valley Railway, his failure to do so was

caused mainly by the hostility of the very individuals who were instrumental in forcing the Government to undertake its construction, and who had withheld their assistance at the eleventh hour, when the Province had become involved in financial difficulties. The irregularity in the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Railway bonds was undoubtedly the result of a misapprehension, or an error of judgment; his bitterest enemy never dared to insinuate that he had any personal interest to serve in the transaction. He left the Government as he had entered it—a poor man.

Discredited as a politician; deserted and derided by those who had fawned upon him in his days of popularity; abandoned and contemned by the swarm of tuft-hunters who had waxed fat and impudent through his careless good nature, John Norquay resigned office, proud in the consciousness of his own integrity, and retaining the respect and esteem of those who knew him best.

Dr. Harrison formed a cabinet on 26th December, composed of the following:—Premier, President of Council, Provincial Treasurer, Minister of Agriculture, Statistics and Health, Hon. D. H. Harrison, M.D.; Minister of Public Works, Hon. D. H. Wilson, M.D.; Attorney-General, Hon. C. E. Hamilton; Provincial Secretary, Hon. Joseph Burke. The new ministry was short-lived.

The Legislature opened on 12th January, 1888. During the interval Hon. Joseph Burke, who sought election in St. Francis Xavier, had been defeated; the new Premier accepted his colleague's non-success as a verdict of popular disapproval, and on the 19th of January he tendered the resignation of his Government, which was accepted, and the Lieutenant-Governor called up Mr. Thomas Greenway, leader of the Opposition, to form an executive.



Sir John J. Caldwell Abbott, K.C.M.G., P.C., D.C.L.





## CHAPTER VII.

### DEWDNEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

WHEN the present main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway was definitely located, it became evident that Battleford was an inconvenient point for the seat of government of the North-West, and the site of the future capital became a subject of discussion and of deep local interest to the people of the numerous little hamlets strung along the railway west of Manitoba, who eagerly presented their claims to the prospective honor. Qu'Appelle, or Troy, as it was variously called, bid high for the honor, and, as an immigrant building and Dominion land office had been shipped from Ottawa "ready-made," and erected at that point its inhabitants flattered themselves that their town was to be the future capital. Fort Qu'Appelle, sixteen miles north, although that distance from the railway, entertained fond hopes in the same direction. The Fort was an important trading centre, from which the principal northern trails diverged; it was the depot of the North-West Mounted Police, and its situation, in the picturesque and fertile valley of the Qu'Appelle, made it a desirable site for a city. The rivalry between the two places was fierce for a time, and both progressed rapidly in the desire of each to outdo the other, and become worthy of being the metropolis of a new and vast empire.

The authorities wavered for a long time in making their choice, but at length Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, to whose

judgment the selection of a site was confided, fixed upon a point on the Wascana, or Pile of Bones Creek (which was formally named Regina by Lord Lorne during his visit to the North-West) as his seat of government. It may be presumed that Governor Dewdney chose Regina as the only solution of the rival claims of Troy-Qu'Appelle and Fort Qu'Appelle, although he was accused of interested favoritism in making his selection, but the fact remains that either was in every respect more suitable for the site of a city than the blank and unattractive spot upon which the capital has been built. On March 27th, 1883, an Order-in-Council was passed, removing the North-West capital from Battleford to Regina. All the land within several miles of the Pile of Bones Creek was laid out in town lots, and the embryo capital became the battleground of rival armies of land speculators. One section captured the post-office, another the police barracks, a third pointed with triumph to its centre of attraction, the court house and jail, and still another congratulated itself on the possession of a bank. The buildings mentioned were distributed over a large expanse of prairie, while the business portion of the place was naturally built close to the railway at quite a distance from the public buildings. There were rumors of official speculation and jobbery in connection with the establishment of Regina, and certainly the manner in which the public buildings were placed, without the least regard to the convenience of the people, would in a measure warrant such suspicions. Superiority of site could not be pleaded in any case, where the only choice was a flat, treeless prairie; so it may charitably be inferred that the founders of the new city, in placing the public buildings thus far apart, were actuated by a desire to convey to the minds of the stranger an idea of

the immensity of the capital and the exceptional facilities for growth which its position afforded.

The advantages of the North-West as a field for colonization, having attracted the attention of Lady Cathcart, whose estates in the western Highlands of Scotland were overcrowded, that benevolent lady determined to settle a number of Crofter families in the new country. Aided in her charitable undertaking by Mr. W. B. Scarth, manager of the Canada North-West Land Company, who selected the lands and supervised the establishment of the people upon them, Her Ladyship sent out a few families in 1883, and a large number in 1884, who were settled in Southern Manitoba, and in the neighborhood of Moosomin. These Crofters were given substantial aid in cash, farming implements and cattle, and, although their progress under the new conditions was slow, and in some instances resulted in complete failure, the bulk of them made good settlers, and they are now prosperous and contented. This colony of Lady Cathcart's is mentioned here specially as it is one of the few aided emigration schemes which resulted in even moderate success. Most of such undertakings—and there have been many attempted—have failed for lack of good management, or from the unsuitable character of the colonists, many of whom, taken from a city life, were quite helpless when left to their own devices on a prairie farm.

Elections for the North-West Council were held in the Territories, in 1883, as follows (when the vote polled was):—

Edmonton, May 29th.

Lorne, June 5th.

Francis Oliver - - - 154.

David H. Macdowell - 319.

Francois Lamoreux - 94.

N. E. Porter, M.D. - - 165.

Stuart D. Mulkins - - 4.

Majority for Macdowell 154.

Plurality for Oliver - 56.

Broadview, August 13th.	Qu'Appelle, August 13th.
J. C. Campbell Hamilton 91.	Thos. Wesley Jackson - 344
John Leckie - - - 72.	William R. Bell - - - 112.
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Majority for Hamilton - 19.	Majority for Jackson - 232.
Moose Jaw, August 13th.	Regina, August 13th.
John Hamilton Ross - 42.	William White - - - 89.
John McKay - - - 20.	J. O. Boucher - - - 31.
—	Edward Carss - - - 30.
Majority for Ross - - 22.	—
	Plurality for White - 28.

The North-West Council held its fifth session at Regina, on the 22nd August, 1883, Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney presiding. The appointed members were: Lt.-Col. A. G. Irvine, N. W.M.P., Messrs. Pascal, Breland and Hayter Reed; Lieut.-Colonels McLeod and Richardson, Stipendiary Magistrates, ex-officio members, and Messrs. Macdowall, Oliver, Hamilton, Jackson, White, and Ross, elected members.

The Session lasted for nearly two months, and passed ordinances relating to the following subjects:—Respecting Infectious and Contagious Diseases and Diseases of Animals; respecting Municipalities; Civil Justice; Partnerships; Indigent Children; Profanation of the Lord's Day; Notaries Public; Protection of Game; Disposal of Found or Stolen Horses; Herding of Animals; Canadian Thistles and other Noxious Weeds; Auctioneers; Hawkers and Pedlers; Returns of Justices of the Peace; Construction of Chimneys; Billiard Table Licenses and Prevention of Gambling; Registration of Titles; Marking of Stock; Short Forms of Indentures; Protection of Sheep; Prevention of Prairie and Forest Fires, and Regulations for Fences. The council also adopted a memorial to

the Ottawa Government, pointing out the detrimental effect on the settlement and progress of the country, of the Railway Mile Belt Reserve, and requesting that the lands within that belt be thrown open to *bona fide* settlers; that measures should be enacted for the determination of titles to the land; that the duties on agricultural implements and lumber should be removed or reduced, and protesting against the granting of large tracts of land to grazing and ranche companies

The sixth Council of the North-West Territories opened at Regina on 3rd July, 1884, Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney presiding. During the recess, two new electoral divisions had been created: Calgary, in Alberta; and Moose Mountain, in Assiniboia, in which elections had taken place on 28th June, with the following results:—

Calgary.—James D. Geddes	-	-	-	100
J. K. Oswald	-	-	-	88
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Majority for Geddes	-	-	-	12
Moose Jaw.—J. G. Turriff	-	-	-	98
Frank Taylor	-	-	-	53
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Majority for Turriff	-	-	-	45

Several districts had taken advantage of the Municipal Ordinance and had been erected into municipalities. The liquor traffic was a prominent feature of the Speech from the Throne; the fee system for liquor permits, introduced at the former session, had had the effect of lessening the number of permits granted, but the smuggling of liquor was steadily increasing, notwithstanding the watchfulness of the police and the heavy penalties imposed on persons convicted of the offence. The

Council had recommended the establishment of breweries, as it was thought such a step would put a stop to smuggling to a great extent, and also check illicit distilling; they were now asked to renew such recommendation. His Honor stated that the reports of Indian difficulties, appearing from time to time in the newspapers, were greatly exaggerated, that from his personal observations as Indian Commissioner, and the reports of his subordinates, he could confidently say that the Indians were generally more contented than they had been since the treaties were made. It could not but be expected that, with an Indian population of twenty thousand, scattered over a large territory, there would be a little trouble and excitement at times, but he denied that there was any cause for alarm.

Attempts were made during the sitting of the Council, to introduce Ordinances providing for the establishment of Legislative Government, and to provide for the administration of the public funds by the Council, instead of leaving the expenditure in the power of the Lieutenant-Governor solely. Several other reforms were mooted, but only took shape in the form of resolutions and memorials to the Federal authorities, praying for legislation to increase the powers of the Council, and enlarge its jurisdiction in local matters. A settlement of Half-Breed and squatter's claims was urged, encouragement and aid to local railways, improvements to roads, the necessity of an increase of subsidy, public works, bridges, buildings, etc. The Session was rather remarkable for the length of the debates, than for the amount or importance of the business transacted.

While a majority of the Council seemed satisfied to allow matters to drift along in a peaceful, haphazard way, the people, in many districts, were proclaiming their wants and

grievances, and demanding immediate relief from Ottawa. The Farmers' Union movement in Manitoba found favor and sympathy in the Territories. Meetings were convened at all the principal centres of settlement, at which Bills of Rights were adopted and forwarded to Ottawa. The resolutions passed at these meetings were, in substance, identical with those already noted, as having been approved of by the Farmers' Union, and similar associations, differing only in minor details, which affected local interests. The principal matters referred to in all of them were, Federal assistance to local railways: the abrogation of the monopoly clause; speedy construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway; Territorial representation in the House of Commons and Senate of Canada; an elective Legislature and responsible Government for the Territories; recognition and equitable settlement of the claims of North-West Half-Breeds; improved timber regulations; cancellation of grants to colonization and ranching companies, where the conditions and duties imposed upon the companies had not been fulfilled; the establishment of a Supreme Court, competent to hear appeals; curtailment of the authority of Mounted Police officers in civil cases; more frequent and stated sittings of the District Court, and the settlement of squatters' claims.

On the 24th January, 1885, another link was forged in the chain binding eastern and western Canada, in the completion of the Canadian Pacific telegraph line from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Congratulations were exchanged between the Lieutenant-Governors of Manitoba and the North-West Territories and the Governor-General, expressing satisfaction at the establishment of telegraphic communication over an entirely Canadian line. About the same time, the telephone was in-

troduced at Edmonton, and communication opened with Saint Albert, nine miles north.

At the opening of Parliament at Ottawa, on the 29th of January, several matters affecting the Government of the Territories were foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne. A Bill was introduced to provide for taking a census of the North-West, and one for the introduction of the Torrens' system of registration. A Bill relating to the representation of the Territories in the House of Commons was introduced by Mr. M. C. Cameron, member for Huron. The Bill provided that the Territories have six representatives, two for Assiniboia, and one each for the other districts, the elections to take place in December, 1885, to enable members elected to attend the next session of Parliament. The Bill was introduced, but when brought up for a second reading the debate was adjourned, and no further progress was made towards its enactment. The fact that a census of the North-West was on the eve of being taken, rendered the proposed measure somewhat premature. A commission to investigate the claims of the North-West Half-Breeds was appointed on 30th March, 1885. The Commissioners were Messrs. W. P. R. Street, A. E. Forget, and Roger Goulet. They were authorized to make an enumeration of the Half-Breeds who were residents within the ceded portions of the North-West Territories, and outside of the limits of the original Province of Manitoba, previous to the 15th July, 1870; to investigate their claims existing in connection with the extinguishment of the Indian title, and to issue certificates to such of them as should prove their claims to land on scrip. Under their instructions, the Commissioners were given plenary power to deal with every question affecting the claims of the Half-Breeds in the most liberal spirit

and to exercise their discretion in adjusting the claims presented. They were also entrusted with the examination and settlement of squatters' claims.

All Half-Breeds, heads of families living outside of Manitoba previous to 1880, found in occupation of land, were to be allowed the land so occupied, not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres each. Those who had not taken up land were to receive scrip of the face value of one hundred and sixty acres. Each Half-Breed child born previous to 15th July, 1870, who had taken up land, was to be granted his or her claim, not exceeding two hundred and forty acres in each case; and those who had not chosen a location were to receive scrip of the face value of two hundred and forty acres. The Commissioners disposed of the claims of 1,815 Half-Breeds, issuing money scrip to the value of \$279,200, and land scrip for 55,260 acres. It is a matter of unavailing regret that this commission had not been appointed sooner. Had they commenced their work a few weeks previously, the whole lamentable uprising would have been avoided.

During the Session, land grants, of 6,400 acres per mile, were voted to the North-West Coal and Navigation Company, (the Galt Railway), Regina, Long Lake and Saskatchewan, the Manitoba South-western, and the Manitoba North-western Railway Companies.

Questions affecting the Territories occupied much of the time of Parliament during the Session of 1885. The whole policy of the Government with regard to the North-West afforded the Opposition a fruitful subject of criticism, while particular cases of alleged *laches* on the part of the administration were seized upon and made the themes of violent attacks and interminable controversies. The session was, in

consequence, the longest ever held at Ottawa. The Opposition attempted to throw the responsibility of the Rebellion on the Government's policy of neglect and inaction, while Sir John and his supporters accused their opponents of having caused the troubles, more or less directly, by stirring up discontent and creating grievances in the minds of the people, by their words and acts, with a view of embarrassing the Administration. Altogether, the record of the session of 1885 might profitably be expunged from the pages of Canadian history. It contains nothing that can redound to the credit or prestige of the Dominion, and much that is deplorable, and, therefore, appropriate to be consigned to charitable oblivion.

During the Rebellion, which is fully dealt with in other chapters, little progress was made in the Territories. In many districts the crops were almost or entirely neglected, many of the farmers being employed as teamsters in the transport and commissariat corps, but in others, far removed from the seat of war, the people calmly followed their usual occupations, confident that the volunteers in the field would briefly restore peace and order. The labors of the hopeful, industrious farmers did not go unrewarded, for the Territories had 5,000,000 bushels of wheat for export in that year of uncertainty and trial. Notwithstanding the alarming reports which were spread, exaggerating the gravity and extent of the Rebellion, immigrants continued to arrive in the country. Regina was a central point of attraction, and during the spring the little capital was surrounded with a suburbs of tents, the temporary homes of a numerous influx of Germans and Scandinavians who are, at the present writing, the inhabitants of flourishing settlements in the well-wooded, pleasant uplands north of the city. The first shipment of wool from the Alberta ranches

was made during the summer of 1885; the total clip amounted to about 70,000 pounds.

The Honorable Thomas White, Minister of the Interior, made a trip through the Territories in the autumn for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the country and its requirements from personal observation. At Prince Albert, the settlers turned out *en masse* to receive him, and presented a petition praying for the following reforms:—Representation in the Dominion Parliament; formation of a Legislative Assembly; abolition of the North-West Council; that Saskatchewan be made a province with boundaries extending to Hudson's Bay, and with Prince Albert as the capital; that the new Province be given control of the public lands; connection with existing lines of railway; Hudson's Bay Railway; that the Manitoba and North-Western Railway be bonused to Prince Albert; a court house and resident judge at Prince Albert; that the *habeas corpus* act be extended to the Territories; an equitable scale of sheriffs' fees; central location of military or police barracks; abolition of dues on timber for domestic and homestead purposes; the opening of odd numbered sections for homesteading; establishment of a money order office; improved mail service; that Prince Albert be made a port of entry; appointment of officials from residents; that unoccupied Indian reserves be opened to homesteaders; that the Sioux be placed on their reserves; that the farmers be furnished with seed grain for the season of 1886. Petitions somewhat similar in their general tenor were presented at other places visited by Mr. White.

On November 7th, 1885, the last spike in the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven at Craigellachie, B.C., by the Honorable Sir Donald A. Smith. After the ceremony, the special

train, conveying Sir Donald A. Smith, President Van Horne, Sandford Fleming, C.E.; Mr. Harris, of Boston, Mass.; Henry Abbott, manager of lake shore construction; J. M. Egan, general superintendent; James Ross, manager of construction; J. M. Haney, superintendent of British Columbia division; H. G. Taylor, master of transportation; Major Rogers, C.E.; H. L. Rogers; Frank P. Brothers, master track layer; Mr. Todd, and J. A. Dickey, Government inspecting engineer, proceeded over the line to Port Moody—the first through train from Montreal to the Pacific.

A re arrangement of the electoral divisions was made in 1885, and elections were held on September 15th, resulting as follows:—

Broadview.—Charles Marshallsay	-	-	187
J. Reilly	-	-	64
Majority for Marshallsay	-		123
Calgary.—J. D. Lauder, M.D.	-	-	232
Hugh S. Cayley	-	-	206
A. Carney	-	-	164
S. J. Hogg	-	-	99
Dr. Lauder and Hugh S. Cayley elected.			
Edmonton.—Herbert C. Wilson, M.D.	-	-	120
Frank Oliver	-	-	111
Majority for Wilson	-	-	9
Lorne.—Owen E. Hughes	-	-	141
A. E. Porter, M.D.	-	-	133
Majority for Hughes	-	-	8
Moose Jaw.—James H. Ross	-	-	161
E. W. Hopkins	-	-	103
Majority for Ross	-	-	58

Moose Mountain.—John G. Turriff defeated J. H. Dickie.

McLeod.—Richard Henry, Viscount Boyle	-	130
George C. Ines	- - - -	67

Majority for Lord Boyle	- -	63
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Moosomin.—Spencer A. Bedford, elected by acclamation.

Qu'Appelle.—Thos. W. Jackson	- - -	440
W. D. Perley	- - -	301
Angus McKay	- - -	290
Leslie Gordon	- - -	137

Jackson and Perley elected.

Regina.—David F. Jolly	- - - -	315
John Secord	- - -	261
Henry Fisher	- - - -	192

Jolly and Secord elected.

St. Albert.—S. Cunningham, elected by acclamation.

At the opening of the seventh Session of the Council, on the 5th November, 1885, Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney drew attention to the rapid development of the Territories, evidenced in the increase in receipts, which had more than doubled during the past year. The report on education showed an increase in the number of schools, no less than sixty-five applications for new school districts having been received during the year. The reply to the Speech from the Throne caused a lively and prolonged debate, which occupied the time of the Council for several days. The reply, as finally adopted, by a vote of 10 to 7, was substantially a stricture on the Dominion Government's North-West policy. Special stress was laid on the increased need of greater rights of representation, and the

establishment of local self-government, which would place the Territories on an equality with other portions of the Dominion. The fact that large tracts of land were held by land companies, who refused to pay taxes, was deprecated, as it prevented the formation of municipalities, and hindered the progress of towns and municipalities already incorporated. Regret was expressed that the Half-Breed claims had not received more prompt attention, as the Indian and Half-Breed uprising would have thus been avoided. Confidence was expressed in the policy of the Federal Government, which faithfully and honestly adhered to would prevent any trouble with Indians in the future.

The Council adopted a memorial to the Dominion Government which embodied requests for concessions and reforms regarding a variety of matters, of which the following were the more important. That power should be given the Council to incorporate companies having purely territorial objects; that the old established trails should be surveyed and vested in the Council; the immediate adjustment of old settlers' claims, more especially in the Prince Albert and Edmonton districts; that the Government use their influence with the Canadian Pacific, to induce that corporation to reduce the freight rates on imports and exports, and, especially, on lumber coming from British Columbia; that settlers be allowed to cut wood for fuel, and a certain stated quantity for building purposes, free; the improvement of the navigation of the North Saskatchewan; that the right of *habeas corpus* be granted to the Territories; that lands reverted to the Crown by cancellation of homestead entry, or otherwise, be thrown open for free homesteading; the establishment of a Territorial Court of Appeals; the opening of a highway from Edmonton to the

confluence of the Peace and Smoky Rivers; representation in the Senate and House of Commons; the application of the Torrens' registration system to the Territories; that the settlers who served during the Rebellion, either as volunteers, or in the transport service, should be allowed the time of service to count as actual residence on their homesteads; the encouragement of the building of branch lines of railway, by subsidizing or guaranteeing the bonds of the companies, but not by grants of land; the reduction or abolition of duties on agricultural implements and lumber; that the holding of odd-numbered sections by land companies and the Canadian Pacific Railway, and their exemption from taxation, was a bar to settlement and progress, and the Council recommended that immediate steps should be taken by the Government towards acquiring such odd-numbered sections, and opening them to homesteaders; that moneys voted for expenses of Government, including roads and bridges, aid to schools, public printing, ferries, etc., should be vested in the Council as representatives of the people; that liberal encouragement and assistance be granted to the Hudson's Bay Railway; the immediate appointment of a commission to enquire into and settle the claims of Half-Breeds not already disposed of; prompt settlement of claims for losses sustained during the rebellion; that the live stock owned by a homesteader, in certain cases should be allowed to count as cultivation duties; that appointments to positions of trust and emolument, be made from amongst the residents of the Territories; that Indian and Police supplies be purchased in the Territories; that the Government should at once dispose of their interest in town sites (as such town sites held as Crown lands, were an obstacle to municipal and school organization), and that the same be made available

for taxation ; that colonization companies that had not complied with the conditions of their charters should be required to fulfil such conditions forthwith, or have their charters cancelled.

Messrs. Perley, Ross, and Wilson were appointed as a delegation to present the memorial at Ottawa. The Session closed on 18th December, 1885. Before adjournment, a resolution was passed recommending the Half-Breed prisoners, who had been convicted of purely political offences, to the clemency of the Crown.

The Territorial delegates were well received at Ottawa, the Government assuring them that the subjects of the memorial would be carefully considered. The Dominion session of 1886, like that of 1885, was largely devoted to North-West matters, and many concessions were granted to the Territories. The Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway was granted 6,400 acres per mile for 240 miles, and the Manitoba and North-Western Railway obtained a similar grant, to aid in the western extension of the line. Appropriations were made for a jail and asylum at Regina, \$11,580 ; addition to police barracks, \$25,000 ; telegraph line between Dunmore and MacLeod, and between Moose Jaw and Wood Mountain, \$11,000 ; destitute Indians, \$300,000 ; seed grain for Prince Albert settlers, \$46,884 ; to pay rebellion losses, \$67,595. Thirty surveying parties were put in the field on subdivision and tract surveys. On the 7th June, 1886, the Regina and Long Lake Railway was opened for traffic from Regina to Craven, a distance of twenty-five miles. The Banff National Park was established in 1886, and during the summer of that year attracted a large number of visitors and tourists, who flocked thither to admire the natural beauties of the region, or

profit by the health-giving properties of the famous hot springs.

Elections were held in the districts of Moose Mountain and Calgary in July, and the following members were elected to the Council: Moose Mountain, John G. Turriff; Calgary, John D. Lauder and Hugh S. Cayley. In October, an election was held in Qu'Appelle, occasioned by the resignation of Mr. T. W. Jackson, resulting in the return of Mr. Robert Crawford.

Considerable progress was made in the Territories during 1886. The crops, though somewhat light from the exceptional dryness of the season, were of excellent quality. The reports obtained from 137 townships, gave an aggregate of 71,951 acres under cultivation, of which 32,714 were in wheat; 26,021 in oats; 8,933 in barley; and the balance in roots; in addition, about 14,000 were broken and prepared for crop. Stock-raising made immense progress. A large number of stockmen, who had been engaged in the business in the United States, were attracted by the superior advantages of the Canadian cattle ranges, and obtained leases of large tracts between the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and Wood Mountain, which they stocked with cattle, sheep and horses. Several colonies of Germans, Swiss, and Hungarians were founded at New Alsace, Bismarck, Hohen-Holme, and Esterhazy. The North-West Coal and Navigation Company had increased their plant, and were mining on a greatly enlarged scale at Lethbridge. Their fleet of steamboats on the South Saskatchewan had been increased, and now consisted of the *Baroness*, *Alberta*, and *Minnow*. During the year, 31 new schools were established, making a total of 90. Of these, 76 were Protestant, and 14 Roman Catholic, representing a total school population of 2,786 pupils.

The Council met for the dispatch of business on the 15th October, 1886. The answer to the memorial, contained in the report of the delegates to Ottawa, was found to be satisfactory in many respects. Out of twenty-seven requests submitted, seventeen were agreed to, and the others were dealt with in a liberal spirit. The settlement of Half-Breed claims was provided for by the appointment of Mr. Roger Gaulet, as Sale Commissioner, to deal with the Half-Breed and original white settlers' claims. A sum of \$10,000 was granted to improve the navigation of the Saskatchewan at Cole's Falls, and further improvements were promised. The enactment of 49 Victoria, cap. 25, amending the North-West Territories Act, provided for the extension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the establishment of a Court of Appeal in the Territories. An Act was passed, granting representation in the Senate and House of Commons; Assiniboia to have two members in the Commons, and Alberta and Saskatchewan, one each; it also provided for the appointment of two Senators. The Torrens' system was extended to the Territories, to come into force on the 1st January, 1887. The census of the Territories, taken in 1885-6, gave Assiniboia 15,000 of a population; Alberta, 5,000, and Saskatchewan, 8,000, exclusive of Indians. According to a return presented to the North-West Council during the session of 1886, the following were the number of voters in the North-West constituencies in that year:—MacLeod, 276; Edmonton, 299; St. Albert, 221; Moosomin, 456; Broadview, 386; Qu'Appelle, 1,044; Moose Jaw, 371; Regina, 632; Lorne, 741; Moose Mountain, 243; Calgary, 639.

The receipts and expenditures of the general revenue from the 1st November, 1885, to the 31st August, 1886, were: Receipts, \$13,252; Expenditure, \$8,902.76. The powers of the

Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council were enlarged by the Governor-in-Council, to make ordinances in relation to the following subjects:—

1. Direct taxation within the Territories, in order to the raising of a revenue for Territorial (including Municipal) purposes.

2. The Incorporation of companies with Territorial objects, with the following exceptions: (a) Such Companies as cannot be incorporated by a Provincial Legislature: (b) Railway, Tramway, Steamboat, Canal, Transportation, Telegraph, and Telephone Companies: (c) Insurance Companies. A committee of Council was appointed to consider the best means of dividing the Territories into Districts, and to make such suggestions as they might deem advisable for the purpose of submitting a scheme at the next session of the Dominion Parliament, to secure responsible Government. This committee wrestled with the subject submitted to them at several protracted sittings, but failed to arrive at any practicable conclusion. The Council urged upon the Dominion the speedy extension of the South-western branch of the C. P. R. into the Souris coal district: the bonusing of agricultural societies: a grant for the establishment of one or more High Schools: a grant for the completion of Bow River bridge, also bridges over the Old Man's River, near MacLeod, and the Battle River, near Battleford. They also asked that the North-West Territories Act be amended, regarding the qualification of electors, granting *bona fide* residents manhood suffrage; and that the ballot be extended to the Territories in Dominion elections. The Council closed on the 20th November.

On the 7th November, Calgary, which had grown from a primitive trading post to a flourishing, well-built town in a

surprisingly short period, was visited by a disastrous fire, which destroyed the greater portion of the business houses, inflicting a loss of over \$100,000, about 25 per cent. of which was covered by insurance. The fire was a serious check to the town, but only a temporary one, for the enterprising citizens hastened to replace the buildings destroyed by others of a superior class, and the place is to-day the most prosperous and substantial city of the North-West.

During the winter of 1886-7, the Hudson's Bay Company built a steamboat at Athabasca Landing, for use on the Athabasca and Slave Rivers.

The Dominion Parliament was dissolved on 17th January, 1887, and writs of election were issued for the North-West constituencies. The politicians had anticipated this event, and the following gentlemen had been nominated by conventions of their respective parties: In Assiniboia, Nicholas Flood Davin and W. D. Perley, Conservatives, and Jas. H. Ross, Liberal; in Alberta, Major-General F. B. Strange, Independent; in Saskatchewan, Hon. David Laird, ex-Lieut.-Governor, Liberal. Elections were held on 15th March, and the following members were returned to represent the Territories in the House of Commons:—Alberta, D. W. Davis, Conservative, defeated R. Hardisty, Independent, and Dr. Lafferty, Liberal (General Strange did not run); Assiniboia East, W. D. Perley, Conservative, 1618, — Dickie, Liberal, 890; Assiniboia West, N. F. Davin, Conservative, 322 majority over J. H. Ross, Liberal; Saskatchewan, D. H. Macdowell defeated ex-Governor Laird. The newly elected members took their seats in the new Parliament, which assembled on 13th April. When the estimates were brought down it was found that the Government were desirous of meeting the wants of the Territories, for a number

of items appeared for public works and improvements. Sums were provided for bridges over the Bow, Elbow, and Old Man's Rivers; an Indian Industrial School at Qu'Appelle, Court House at Prince Albert: expenses of Government were increased by \$22,000, making the total subsidy \$96,700: salaries of five judges \$20,000, and five sheriffs \$2,500.

Land grants of 6,400 acres per mile were given to the Alberta and Athabasca Railway from Calgary to Edmonton, 300 miles: to the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway and Steamboat Company, from Craven to the South Saskatchewan, with branches to Prince Albert and Battleford; and to the Medicine Hat Railway and Coal Company, from Medicine Hat to the mines, 8 miles. The grants were made on the condition that the grantees should defray the cost of surveys. In the case of Alberta and Athabasca Railway, 50 miles were to be completed by July, 1888, and the whole line to be in running order to the Athabasca River by July, 1891.

During the early summer of 1887 the North-West was the scene of two murders, and many acts of robbery, horse and cattle stealing, were committed. These outrages caused great alarm in the isolated settlements, and associations for mutual protection were formed at Battleford and other points. Happily the dangers were overestimated, and it was found that the crimes were committed by a few desperate characters who had no connection or organization for concerted action as had been supposed.

On 18th February, 1887, the Territories were divided into five judicial districts, viz.:—Eastern Assiniboia, Western Assiniboia, Southern Alberta, Northern Alberta, and Saskatchewan, and on the same date the following gentlemen were appointed Judges of the Supreme Court of the North-West Ter-

ritories :—Hon. Hugh Richardson, of Regina ; Hon. James F. McLeod, C.M.G., of Fort McLeod : Hon. Charles B. Rouleau, of Calgary ; and Hon. Edward W. Wetmore, of Fredericton, N.B. The Supreme Court was constituted a Court of Record, with appellate jurisdiction, the Senior Judge to preside and three Judges to form a quorum. The establishment of the Supreme Court superseded the old judicial system administered by the Stipendiary Magistrates and with the appellate jurisdiction of the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba.

The Territories Real Property Act took effect on 1st January, 1887, and under it the Torrens' System was established, and Registrars appointed at Battleford, Prince Albert, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton.

The liquor law had proved ineffectual ever since its inception, and each year its utter inutility became more manifest. The permit system was, in many cases, abused by persons who imported liquor for medicinal purposes ostensibly, but really for the sake of selling it at exorbitant prices. The Territorial press denounced the system as inoperative, and demanded its abolition. The *McLeod Gazette* said of it: "Throughout the entire North-West it is daily broken by the entire population, from the highest to the lowest. There are few people in the world who are more law-abiding than those of the North-West, and at the same time there are few countries on the face of the earth where any one law is so openly and universally violated by rich and poor, high and low together." The demand for liquor, and the enormous prices which its votaries were willing to pay for it, had called into existence gangs of desperadoes, who drove a flourishing trade by smuggling large quantities of the vilest kind of "pink-eye whiskey" from Montana into the Territories. To quote the *Gazette*, "For every

gallon of this illegal liquor which is seized, there are thousands of gallons which get safely in and are sold. It has been estimated that hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually drained from Alberta alone for whiskey, and not one per cent. of this paid out for liquor covered by permit." The same might be said of other districts. Liquor, which had never paid a cent of permit revenue, was to be had everywhere, at prices ranging from twenty-five cents to a dollar a drink. The demoralizing effect of such a traffic may be imagined. Often, when a "permit," or a cargo of smuggled liquor, arrived in a town or settlement, the entire community indulged in a drunken orgie, which only ended when the last drop had been disposed of, and the last dollar had been drained from the purses of the revellers. The North-West Council recorded its disapproval of the permit system, unanimously adopting a resolution on the subject, which declared that it was unsatisfactory and ineffective either as a temperance or prohibitory measure, and injurious to the country morally and financially, and asking for power to deal with the liquor question similar to that employed by the provinces, and that the provisions of The Canada Temperance Act be extended to the Territories.

Lord Boyle, member for McLeod, and Mr. W. D. Perley, Qu'Appelle, having resigned their seats during the recess, elections were held, and Messrs. Frederick William Gordon Hamilton and William Sutherland were elected to fill their respective seats. The Council reassembled on the 14th October, 1886. The Lieutenant-Governor, in his opening speech, congratulated the members on the material progress which had been made during the year, noting the fact that the ranchers had commenced shipping cattle to Eastern Canada and Great Britain, and calling attention to the increased acreage of land

cultivated, and the large quantity of grain produced. He deplored the want of railway facilities, which prevented the farmers from realizing on their grain; some districts being entirely cut off from a market. It was intimated in the speech that the Dominion authorities would be guided in their legislation, towards granting increased constitutional and legislative powers to the Council, by such suggestions and recommendations as the members of the Council might see fit to submit. A special committee was appointed to draft a scheme for a new form of Government, and reported as follows:— That the system of having appointed members in the North-West Council be abolished, and that the Council hereafter be purely elective, and in the first instance to consist of twenty-five members, to be elected for the electoral divisions set forth in a schedule attached. That the members be elected for a term of four years, and not for two years, as at present. That the qualifications of a voter, in elections for the Council, be, that he is a male British subject, not an unenfranchised Indian, 21 years of age, and who has resided for six months before the election in the electoral division in which he votes. That the Council be presided over by one of their own members. That the Lieutenant-Governor carry on his functions by and with the advice of an Executive Council of three, who shall be, from time to time, chosen and summoned by the Lieutenant-Governor, and sworn in as Privy Councillors, and who shall hold seats in the North-West Council. That the following provisions of the British North America Act, respecting the Parliament of Canada, namely: The provisions relating to appropriation and tax bills, the recommendation of money votes, the assent of bills, the disallowance of acts, and the significance of pleasure on bills reserved, being sections 53, 54, 55 and

56 of the B.N.A. Act, shall extend and be made applicable in terms to the North-West Council, with the substitution of Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories for the Governor-General; and of the Governor-General for the Queen and for a Secretary of State; and of one, for two years: and of the North-West Territories, for Canada. That the Council should have power to amend its own constitution from time to time. The ninth (and last) Session of the North-West Council closed on the 19th November, 1887.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### DISCONTENT AMONG THE HALF-BREEDS OF THE NORTH-WEST.

THE "Land Surveys" were in a large measure responsible for both rebellions in the North-West : or, properly speaking, the cause of the uprisings was attributable to lack of judgment on the part of some of the officials entrusted with carrying on the work. These men were not only hostile to the claims of the Half-Breeds, but in too many cases prejudiced against them as a class. There was, therefore, very little of the spirit of conciliation in their intercourse with the native population, and their reports to Ottawa were, consequently, often misleading.

The Half-Breed hunters of the North-West were almost as nomadic in their habits as their Indian cousins. Until the buffalo became scarce, they had seldom any fixed place of abode, but wandered about, following the wild herds from place to place, and wintering where circumstance or convenience prompted. When the buffalo became so rare that hunting was no longer to be depended on as a principal means of subsistence, the hunters found settlements, and set themselves to establish permanent houses for themselves at several points in the Territories.

After the rebellion of 1869-70, these settlements were augmented by a large number of French and Scotch Half-Breeds from Manitoba. In forming their settlements, they adopted

the plan in vogue during the early days of the Red River settlement, and laid out their farms with only a few chains fronting on the river and running back two miles. This enabled them to build their houses close together, and secured to each one access to the river for watering stock and other purposes. The system of Dominion surveys did not, of course, fit in with this mode of settlement on the part of the Half-Breeds, and when the surveyors came upon the scene dissatisfaction arose.

As early as 1877, one hundred and fifty Scotch Half-Breeds of Prince Albert petitioned the Government to instruct the surveyors to respect the established boundaries of their buildings, and from that time till the outbreak in 1885, the old settlers and Half-Breeds of the North-West kept up an unavailing agitation to obtain the granting of this very reasonable concession, as well as the granting of their claims to scrip.

The people did not relish being called upon to break up their homes to suit the ideas of the Government, and demanded patents for the land, as they had taken it up. In some instances the block system of survey placed as many as ten settlers on one section, and cut off three-quarters of each of their original claims. A little judicious handling of the subject at the beginning would undoubtedly have prevented much subsequent trouble and misery. Added to this, new settlers were pushing their way into the country, taking up choice locations wherever they could find them, and the old cry of 1869 and '70, was revived, that the lands of the Half-Breeds were to be taken from them. The surveyors had their instructions, and, of course, were bound to carry them out, but a more conciliatory spirit on the part of some of them might have lessened the difficulties which the Government had after-

wards to contend against, and although the squatters' claims were left untouched, a spirit of uneasiness prevailed amongst them. There were other grievances, but the land question was at the bottom of the trouble, although it is contended by some that other influences caused the uprising.

Unfortunately for the country and its peace, the malcontents, after holding a series of meetings, resolved to invite Louis Riel, who was then residing in Montana, to join them. This step was occasioned in a measure by the seeming indifference of the Government to the claims of the Half-Breeds. Accordingly, in June, 1884, a committee, consisting of Gabriel Dumont, J. Isbister, Moise Ouellete, and M. Dumas, was sent to Riel to ask him to return to the North West and lead his countrymen in their struggle for their rights. There is no doubt that English as well as French settlers along the Saskatchewan thought that they were being unfairly treated by the Dominion, but the introduction of Riel into the difficulty at once left the French alone in the agitation, as it did in 1869 and '70.

In the report of the delegates sent to invite Riel, the following clause appears:—

We have travelled the long journey of about seven hundred miles to seek an interview with Mr Riel.

We had to go to the Territory of Montana, as far as St. Peter's Mission, situated in the County of Louis and Clerk, beyond Sun River, at the foot of the Great Rockies.

We found him humbly and respectably employed as a teacher in the Industrial College of the Jesuit Fathers of that place. After having acquainted him with the object of our mission, we handed him our credentials and the six resolutions on which we had to consult with him, also the document whereby our public invites him to the North-West. We asked him to come with us if he could, and to aid us. This interview took place on the 4th June. Mr. Riel read our papers of trust, and begged to be allowed twenty-four hours to think the matter over before giving an

answer. We were received by Mr. and Mrs. Riel in a very friendly manner, their courtesy was sincere, simple, and true. Generally, when one enters the house of a very poor man, the feeling of the visitors is more or less painful, but entering Mr. Riel's house, our impression was different. The humble condition of his home reminded us of the opportunities he had for several years to become rich, and even to make an exceptional fortune, and how at all risks he stood firm by the confidence of his people. We know how much he wrought for Manitoba, and how much he struggled for the whole North-West, and seeing how little he worked for himself, we came back after a long trip of some fourteen hundred miles, with twice as much confidence in him as we had on leaving to go and seek him in a foreign land.

Riel, in answer to the invitation tendered to him by the delegates, wrote the following letter:—

ST. PETER'S MISSION

5th June, 1884.

To Messrs James Isbister, Gabriel Dumont, Moise Ouellete, and Michel Dumas.

GENTLEMEN—You have travelled more than seven hundred miles from the Saskatchewan country, across the international line, to make me a visit. The communities in the midst of which you live have sent you as their delegate to ask my advice on various difficulties which have rendered the British North-West as yet unhappy under the Ottawa Government. Moreover, you invite me to go and stay amongst you, your hope being that I for one could help to better in some respects your condition. Cordial and pressing is your invitation. You want me and my family to accompany you. I am at liberty to excuse myself and say no. Yet, you are waiting for me, so that I have only to get ready, and your letters of delegation give me the assurance that a family welcome awaits me in the midst of those who have sent you. Gentlemen, your personal visit does me honor, and causes great pleasure, but on account of its representative character, your coming to me has the proportions of a remarkable fact; I record it as one of the gratifications of my life. It is a good event, which my family will remember, and I pray to God that your delegation may become a blessing amongst the blessings of this my fortieth year.

To be frank is the shortest. I doubt whether my advice given to you on this soil concerning affairs on Canadian territory, could cross the borders and retain any influence. But here is another view. The Canadian Government owe me two hundred and fifty acres of land, according to

the thirty-first clause of the Manitoba treaty. They owe me also five lots, valuable on account of hay, timber, and river frontage. Those lots were mine according to the different paragraphs of the same thirty-first clause of the above-mentioned Manitoba treaty. It is the Canadian Government which have deprived me, directly or indirectly, of those properties. Besides, if they only pay attention to it a minute, they will easily find out that they owe me something else.

Those my claims against them are such as to hold good notwithstanding the fact that I have become an American citizen. Considering then, your interest and mine, I accept your very kind invitation. I will go and spend some time amongst you. By petitioning the Government with you perhaps we will all have the good fortune of obtaining something. But my intention is to come back early this fall.

Montana has a pretty numerous native Half-Breed element. If we count with them the white men interested in the Half-Breed welfare, by being themselves heads of Half-Breed families, or related to them in any other way, I believe it safe to assert that the Half-Breed element of Montana is a pretty strong one. I am just getting acquainted with that element. I am one of those who would like to unite and direct its vote so as to make it profitable to themselves and useful to their friends. Moreover, I have made acquaintance and friends amongst whom I like to live. I start with you but to come back here some time in September.

I have the honor to be gentlemen delegated<sup>1</sup> to me

your humble servant,

LOUIS RIEL.

The above letter points out two facts. First, that Riel was not wholly moved by patriotic motives towards his countrymen in the North-West in accepting their invitation; and, secondly, that if sincere in what he wrote, he had no idea when he started from Montana of remaining, and of making his home in the North-West.

Other influences were at work to induce Riel to join the Half-Breeds on Canadian soil, as may be judged from the following letter, addressed to him by Father André, a priest of the Oblates, who had labored among the people of the North-West for upwards of twenty-five years, and had, therefore, a great influence over them:—

MY DEAR MR. RIEL—The opinion here is so prominent in your favor, and longs for you so ardently, that it would be a great disappointment to the people of Prince Albert if you did not come. So you see you absolutely must come. You are the most popular man in the country, and, with the exception of four or five persons, all the world impatiently expects you. I have only this to say—Come : come quickly. With kind remembrances.

I am,

A. ANDRE.

With such pressing invitations presented to him, it is not to be wondered at that Riel decided, without much delay, to throw in his lot for the time being with his countrymen of the North-West.

He relinquished the position of teacher in the Industrial College at St. Peter's Mission, and on the 10th June accompanied the delegates home, arriving in the Saskatchewan country about the 1st July, 1884. At the outset, Riel adopted moderate measures, addressed meetings, and urged constitutional means for the redress of the grievances complained of. Many of the English settlers sympathized with the movement, and countenanced the agitation, hoping thereby to induce the Government to come to their assistance.

In September, at a meeting of Half-Breeds, the following "Bill of Rights," suggested by Riel, was adopted, and duly forwarded to Ottawa :—

First—The sub-division into Provinces of the North-West Territories.

Second—The Half-Breeds to receive the same grants and other advantages as the Manitoba Half-Breeds.

Third—Patents to be issued at once to the Colonists in possession.

Fourth—The sale of half a million acres of Dominion lands, the proceeds to be applied to the establishment, in the Half-Breed settlement, of schools, hospitals, and such like institutions, and to the equipment of the poorer Half Breeds with seed, grain, and implements.

Fifth—The reservation of a hundred townships of swamp land for distribution among the children of Half-Breeds during 120 years

Sixth—A grant of at least \$1,000 for the maintenance of an institution to be conducted by the nuns in each Half-Breed settlement.

Seventh—Better provision for the support of the Indians.

The claims thus presented received no immediate response from the authorities at Ottawa. Indeed, they were ignored, so far as the settlers on the Saskatchewan knew, and this was a great error on the part of the Government. It appeared as if the demands of the Half-Breeds—in some respects not unreasonable—were being treated with contempt, and this of itself gave Riel a handle to use in inflaming the minds of his excitable countrymen.

There are generally two sides to a question, and in relation to the North-West Rebellion there are several to be considered. In the first place, the Dominion Government showed an indifference to the complaints of the Half-Breeds, which can only be accounted for on the ground of misleading and prejudiced statements furnished to them by some of their trusted officials in the country. No excuse can be given for neglecting an immediate investigation of these complaints. That there was any desire on the part of the Ottawa authorities to even countenance injustice to the settlers is not to be entertained—such a course would have been not only impolitic but foolish. That such representations relating to the condition of the people in the North-West were forwarded to Ottawa and remained unheeded, has been fully proved, and the only explanation that can be given is that the authorities either did not realize the gravity of the situation, or did not believe in the truth of the representations made to them. The cause of this unbelief could only have been the reports and letters of their officials, in which they placed too much credence, otherwise they would have enquired into the complaints forwarded them without delay.



Earl of Aberdeen,  
*Governor-General of Canada.*



In the annual report of the Department of the Interior, for the year 1884, we find at page 11 the following:—"At the time the offices of Deputy Head and Surveyor-General were separated, and Mr. Lindsay Russell was charged with the duties appertaining to the latter position, it was provided that he should also investigate and settle the claims to land, by virtue of long occupations, advanced by the old settlers along the North Saskatchewan. When it was found that Mr. Russell's health did not admit of his visiting the settlements, an Order-in-Council was passed remitting this portion of his work to the Land Board. Accordingly, early in the year (1884) Mr. Pearce went to Prince Albert, and from thence to Battleford, Edmonton, and St. Albert, and made a careful personal enquiry into all the claims of this class at those places, with the result that all, with one or two exceptions at Battleford and Edmonton, have been finally and satisfactorily disposed of. The only claims of old settlers remaining unsettled are at Lac la Biche, Victoria, and Battle River. The necessary investigation at the two latter places will be made early next spring, but the claims at Lac la Biche cannot be properly adjusted until the surveys reach that point."

At page 15, Mr. Pearce says: "The claims at St. Laurent on the South Branch of the Saskatchewan, were not personally investigated by me, as the greater portion of the claimants spoke only French, and I would have required an interpreter." Mistaken economy, in the light of subsequent events!

There is no doubt that the Government thought that they knew what was best in the interests of the people, and were actuated only by motives which, in their opinion, would tend to the welfare of all classes of the community. But the claims of the Half-Breeds did not receive the consideration they were

entitled to, because their reasonableness in many respects was not sufficiently understood.

For nearly a year after Riel's arrival in the country, petitions were sent to Ottawa at different times, and representations made without avail, and naturally the settlers concluded that their claims would remain unheeded. That eventually justice would have been done we cannot but believe, but the delay was the cause of bringing Riel upon the scene. His having been the leader of the Metis in 1869 and '70, and, according to their belief, his successful advocacy of their rights on that occasion, gave him a prestige and an influence over them which no other man enjoyed. When he was invited by priests and people to come to their aid, it was with the idea that he would add strength to their cause, and by his experience in such matters, enable them the better to carry on a constitutional agitation, and, moreover, at the commencement of the agitation, and even up to the eve of the affair at Duck Lake, Riel had the support and sympathy of the white settlers of the District. At a public meeting, held in St. Catherine's church, on 22nd March, 1885, over which Rev. E. Mathewson presided as chairman, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

“ That the members of this meeting continue to sympathize, as they have always done, with the French Half-Breeds in their desire to obtain their legal rights by all constitutional means.

“ That they do not approve of the resort to arms, or the raising of the Indians, and wish to remain neutral.

“ That a copy of this minute be dispatched without delay to the officer in charge of Carlton, and another to Mr. Riel.

“ Signed, on behalf of the residents of St. Catherine's, E.

Mathewson, chairman : Wm. Craig, secretary ; on behalf of the meeting, Geo. Inkster and Wm. Hodson.

“ The undersigned concur in the above on behalf of meeting at St. Andrews. Signed—C. Adams, Adam Spence, Andrew Peterson.”

It is quite evident, from all the testimony produced since then, that rebellion against the constituted authority of the country was not contemplated. But it was a fatal step in the interests of the Half-Breeds when Riel was called to their aid. In their simplicity they did not reckon on his revolutionary instincts, nor did they foresee that the great influence exercised over them by him would be used to their detriment.

As for Riel, looking at all the circumstances as they now appear, and with every desire to do justice to him, we cannot give him that credit for unselfish patriotic motives with which some of his admirers have sought to invest his character. We are prepared to admit that at the outset of the Rebellion of 1869-'70 he may have been imbued with a desire to benefit his own people, and to better their condition, but as time wore on new ambitions filled his mind and unbalanced his judgment. He was the means, no doubt, of bringing some benefits to the people of the North-West as a whole, but by unnecessary acts of tyranny and cruelty, when at the zenith of his power, he not only destroyed his own prospects but injured the cause and reputation of the French Half-Breeds. He destroyed that sympathy and consideration for them, which, as a people, they really deserved. When, therefore, he appeared upon the scene, in 1884, his presence was an injury instead of a blessing to the cause of his countrymen, and it is not surprising that the “ Bill of Rights ” which he framed in September of that year did not receive the attention which it otherwise might have done.

No man in the North-West had the opportunities Riel possessed at one time of making himself a name in history, to be honored and esteemed by everyone, but he lost all by his inordinate vanity, utter recklessness, and selfish and senseless abuse of power. It is claimed that Riel emerged from the Rebellion of 1869-'70 a poor man, and that, therefore, he was deserving of sympathy, and this is held up as a proof of his patriotism. The fact that he was an outcast without the means of supporting himself comfortably was due entirely to his own acts of folly. No doubt, during the years he was in exile in the United States, he pondered well over the opportunities he had lost, and 'on reading his letter of acceptance to the invitation of the Half-Breeds of the Saskatchewan, and noting his subsequent anxiety, as testified to at his trial by those who were friendly to him, to feather his nest from the Dominion treasury, we can only come to the conclusion that he was resolved not to allow any such opportunity to slip a second time. Indeed it seems plain that in visiting the North-West, in 1884, he was actuated in a large measure by a desire to better his own condition, and raise himself from poverty to affluence. The affairs of his Half-Breed countrymen appeared to be only a secondary consideration with him—the means, in fact, by which he hoped to gain his own individual ends.

At first, constitutional methods, with him as the leader in them, appeared to be sufficient, but as these did not bear fruit fast enough, the spirit of revolution inherent within him led to his adopting the same tactics as he had pursued in 1869 and '70. • Then, as he perceived that the forces he had to contend against were more powerful in 1884 than on the previous occasion, he endeavored to negotiate—for his people—no! but to

secure the money which would enable him to retire and live in comfort for the rest of his days. When reminded of the cause of the people, he declared that, with him, that was a secondary consideration. Was that patriotism? Riel played a desperate game in 1884, for Riel, and lost. Such is the only conclusion that can be arrived at when reading all the facts of the case.

Yet in justice to him it must be said that whatever his motives, the people of the North-West owe something to the stand he took in 1869 and '70, and had he profited by the experience of that time, and pursued a moderate and constitutional course in 1884, he might have done much towards removing the odium attached to his name in connection with the acts of the Red River Rebellion.



## CHAPTER IX.

### OUTBREAK OF THE HALF-BREEDS AND THE FIGHT AT DUCK LAKE.

WHEN Riel found that constitutional methods, in which he was the organizer and leader, were not likely to prove successful, he commenced to form his plans for exciting the Half-Breeds to rebellion. In December, he began speaking of his intention to induce the people to take up arms in support of their rights. From then on till March, 1885, he gradually worked upon the feelings of his countrymen, and on the 3rd of that month he gave the order to his followers to take the initiative step. A meeting was called, which was attended by about sixty men fully armed, and on that occasion Riel made an inflammatory address, and two days afterwards stated publicly that he had decided to call upon the people to rise. On the 17th March, at another assemblage of Half-Breeds, he made use of these words, when referring to the men who were present, "You see now, I have my police. In one week that little government police will be wiped out of existence."

The following day, he placed himself at the head of an armed force, and began taking and imprisoning those whom he suspected of being opposed to him. To one of these, he remarked that he and his followers intended to fight until the whole Saskatchewan Valley was in their hands; that he had been waiting fifteen years, and at last his opportunity had

come. The same day the stores of Messrs. Walters, Baker, and Kerr Bros., at St. Laurent, were raided, and several persons taken prisoners.

On the 19th, Major Crozier, in command of the Mounted Police, stationed at Fort Carlton, heard the news of this outrage, and immediately sent word to Captain Moore at Prince Albert for reinforcements to put an end to the uprising. In answer to his request, Capt. Moore, with forty men, started for Carlton, arriving there on the 20th. In the meantime, Riel sent a letter to Major Crozier, by Mr. Mitchell, of Duck Lake, calling upon him to surrender, and, in reply, the Major sent a messenger named Thomas McKay, one of the volunteers who had come with Capt. Moore, to endeavor to induce the rebellious Half-Breeds to disperse. Mr. Mitchell accompanied McKay, and the latter, meeting Riel and his council at Batoche, endeavored to reason with and persuade them to abandon the resort to arms.

It may be well to mention here, that one of the first steps taken by Riel, in the programme he laid out for himself, was to form a Provisional Government, with headquarters at Batoche, thus following out the same plan as that adopted by him in 1869-70. McKay endeavored to point out the folly and danger of the course they were pursuing, but without avail. Riel became very excited, and once more declared that he had been waiting for fifteen years to redress the wrongs of the Half-Breeds who had been imposed upon, and could not obtain their rights although they had waited patiently for a long time. Addressing McKay, he exclaimed, "You don't know what we are after. It is blood : blood ; we want blood ; it is a war of extermination. Everybody that is against us is to be driven out of the country. There are two curses in

the country—the Government and the Hudson's Bay Company."

For a time McKay seemed to be in danger of losing his life, so excited did Riel become, but fortunately some of Riel's followers were not in favor of shedding blood at that time, and Major Crozier's envoy was permitted to return to Carlton, without, however, accomplishing his mission. He was informed by Riel, before his departure, that unless Fort Carlton was at once surrendered an attack would be made upon it the next day. As McKay was leaving Batoche he met one of Riel's councillors named Champagne, who had been mainly instrumental in saving his life at the council meeting, and who now informed him that two men were to be sent to negotiate with Major Crozier. Accordingly, two Half-Breeds named Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine came the same day to a point about half-way between Batoche and Carlton, and McKay and Mitchell were once more sent out by Major Crozier from Carlton, to meet them, and endeavor to come to some understanding. The following is an account of the interview, as given by McKay: "We told them (Nolin and Lepine) what Major Crozier had said—that they should give us the names of the leaders of the movement, and that they would have to answer to the law, but that a great many of them, who had been forced into the movement, that they should be dealt leniently with. Nolin said, Riel and his council demanded the unconditional surrender of Fort Carlton, and nothing else would satisfy them, and if they did so no harm would be done them, that they would give a safe conduct home. We said, there was no use discussing the matter at all, as we said the matter could not be entertained at all; that all we had to say was to advise them to disperse and go home,

and that the leaders of the movement would have to be answerable to the law. He then said he had a letter which he was told to hand us, but that it would be no use to hand it as Fort Carlton was not to be surrendered."

The letter which Nolin referred to, and which was afterwards found amongst Riel's papers at Batoche, read as follows:—

ST. ANTOINE, N.W.T.,

21st March, 1885.

To Major Crozier, Commander of the Police at Forts Carlton and Battleford.

MAJOR—The councillors of the Provisional Government of the Saskatchewan, have the honor to communicate to you the following conditions of surrender: you will be required to give up completely the situation which the Canadian Government placed you in at Carlton and Battleford, together with all Government properties.

In case of acceptance, you and your men will be set free on your parole of honor to keep the peace. And those who choose to leave the country, will be furnished with teams and provisions to reach Qu'Appelle.

In case of non-acceptance, we intend to attack you, when, to-morrow, the Lord's day is over, and to commence, without delay, a war of extermination upon those who have shown themselves hostile to our rights.

Messrs. Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine are the gentlemen with whom you will have to treat.

Major, we respect you. Let the cause of humanity be a consolation to you, for the reverses which the Governmental misconduct has brought upon you.

LOUIS "DAVID" RIEL, *Exovede*.

On the other side of this document was written:

To Messrs. Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine.

GENTLEMEN—If Major Crozier accedes to the conditions of surrender, let him use the following formula and no other:—"Because I love my neighbor as myself, for the sake of God, and to prevent bloodshed, and principally the war of extermination which threatens the country, I agree to the above conditions of surrender." If the Major writes this formula and signs it, inform him that we will receive him and his men Monday.

Yours,

LOUIS "DAVID" RIEL, *Exovede*.

Word had been sent to Colonel Irvine, in command of the Mounted Police, of the rising, and he started for Carlton with a force of his men. On the 24th, Major Crozier, not having heard of the reinforcements on the way, sent out Thomas McKay to see whether any news of their approach could be discovered. On the way, the scout met two messengers carrying word to Crozier, that the police were nearing Prince Albert. McKay afterwards met Col. Irvine at the latter place, and then returned to Carlton. On the morning of the 26th, Major Crozier resolved to send some teams and an escort to Duck Lake, to bring in a quantity of flour and provisions belonging to Mitchell. As this party neared their destination, they encountered a number of Half-Breeds under Gabriel Dumont, who stopped them and endeavored to gain possession of the teams. McKay, who was present, interfered to prevent bloodshed, and the result was, that the party returned to Carlton without accomplishing what they had been sent for. On Major Crozier being apprised of what had taken place, he started out with a force of ninety-nine men, and, with the party that had been turned back by Dumont, made his way towards Duck Lake. Before leaving Carlton, he sent word to Colonel Irvine that he had started out to support the teams, and that help would be required.

When within about four miles of Duck Lake, the advance guard of the expedition returned and reported that there were some Indians at Chief Beardy's house on the reserve, and a little later the Half-Breeds were seen advancing over a hill. Major Crozier at once gave orders to unhitch the horses from the teams, and form a barricade. He then, observing that the advancing party carried a white flag, rode out to meet them, but while parleying with them, the Half-Breeds made an at-

tempt to get in rear of the police and volunteers, and thus surround them. Then Crozier gave the word to fire, and as his men had a small brass cannon with them, they could have played havoc with the enemy, but, unfortunately, the Major was right in line, and to have fired, would have been to kill him. This fact was the salvation of many of the Half-Breeds. Firing now became general, and lasted for about forty minutes, and if it had not been for the coolness of Major Crozier and his men, might have resulted in a massacre. As it was, there were nine Prince Albert volunteers and three policemen killed, and about twenty-five wounded. The loss on the side of the French has not been ascertained with any certainty—although six are known to have been killed during the fight.

Major Crozier then ordered his men to retire, which they did in good time, and at about four o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at Carlton, leaving their dead on the field.

In the meantime, Colonel Irvine arrived at Prince Albert about 9 o'clock on the night of the 24th, with about twenty of his men snow blind, and many of his horses used up. He, therefore, was obliged to rest his force, which he did on the 25th, and on the 26th, early in the morning, started for Carlton with about eighty police, and thirty volunteers from the town. Prince Albert certainly acted nobly on this occasion, in thus contributing altogether over seventy men to defend Carlton, when their own homes were liable at any moment to be attacked by Riel and his force. Colonel Irvine reached Carlton on the afternoon of the 26th, just about half an hour after the return of Crozier and his band from the fight at Duck Lake.

Carlton at that time was, as Colonel Irvine described it, a rotten old fort, hardly worth defending. It only had an old

stockade surrounding it, and close to it was a high hill which completely commanded it. The Half-Breeds, flushed with their victory at Duck Lake, were almost sure to attack it, and as there was some danger of the neighboring tribes of Indians joining in the fray, Colonel Irvine decided to evacuate the fort, and concentrate his forces at Prince Albert, where a populous community needed protection. On the 27th, therefore, the Mounted Police and Volunteers marched out of Carlton, and, as they were leaving, some of the buildings caught fire, and were consumed. No effort was made to preserve them, and the next morning—the 28th—the whole force started for Prince Albert, arriving there the same afternoon. Riel immediately occupied the buildings at Carlton which had escaped the fire, and thus ended this most unfortunate affair of the battle of Duck Lake.

The names of those killed at the fight were :

Capt. Morton.	A. R. Markley.
Wm. Napier.	S. C. Elliott.
R. Middleton.	D. McPhail.
D. McKenzie.	Alex. Fisher.
Wm. Blaikie.	Joseph Anderson.
T. G. Gibson.	Charles Hewitt.
Geo. P. Arnold,	} Mounted Policemen.
M. K. Garrett,	

Capt, Moore, who led the first party of Volunteers from Prince Albert, had his leg so badly shattered by a shot that it had to be amputated.

Major Crozier, we believe, has been somewhat adversely criticised for his action on that occasion, but in justice to this gallant officer it must be considered that he could have done

hardly anything else than go to the support of the teams he had sent out. Then, having started, it was his duty to make an effort to nip the insurrection if possible in the bud, which, no doubt, he expected to do. His attempt to parley without going to extremes unless compelled to was also quite within his line of duty, and it was only when he saw the treacherous move on the part of the Half-Breeds, that he gave the word to fire. Had his cannon not become disabled, it is more than probable there would be a different account to write to-day of the fight at Duck Lake. The news of the encounter soon spread, and was the means of urging the Government to take immediate steps for the suppression of the rebellion; an account of which, and of subsequent events, will appear in the next chapter.

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## CHAPTER X.

### MASSACRE AT FROG LAKE AND BATTLE OF FISH CREEK.

IMMEDIATELY after the fight at Duck Lake, Riel began preparations to enlarge his plans and extend his operations. Runners were sent to a number of the Indian tribes throughout the country, for the purpose of inciting them to rise against the Canadian authorities. The letters sent to the Indians by these runners were addressed to Indian chiefs and others in Riel's own hand-writing, of which the following is a specimen, which was found in the camp of Chief Poundmaker. After describing what is termed their victory at Duck Lake, the letter concludes, "Praise God for the success He has given us. Capture all the police you possibly can. Preserve their arms. Take Fort Battle, but save the provisions, munitions, and arms. Send a detachment to us of at least one hundred men." In another letter appear the following words, "Afterwards notify the Wood Indians, that they might not be surprised; let them be ready to all events in being calm and courageous to take all the powder, the shot, the lead, the guns, and the cartridges from the Hudson's Bay store at Nut Lake and Fishing Lake." In one document Riel wrote, "Tell our relatives, the Indians, to be ready to come and help us if needed," and in another he says, "Dear relatives and friends—We advise you to pay attention. Be ready for anything. Take the Indians with you. Gather them from every side. Take all the

ammunition you can, whatsoever storehouses it may be in. Murmur, growl, and threaten. Stir up the Indians. Render the police of Fort Pitt and Battleford powerless."

He endeavored to take advantage of the superstition of the Indian character by stating that an eclipse of the sun, which was about to take place, was a sign to the tribes to rise and assist him. But several of the chiefs absented themselves from their reserves, so as to be out of the way of Riel's messengers, and fortunately only a few of the Indians joined his standard.

Then he turned against his own church, and endeavored to lead the people with him, forming a new religion, of which he declared himself to be the prophet. So great, indeed, was his influence over the Half-Breeds, that many followed him in this insane idea, never suspecting, in the simplicity of their minds, that it was merely a scheme concocted by Riel for dramatic effect to serve his own ends. The following document, in his handwriting, will give some idea of the Half-Breed leaders' attitude toward the priests.

"The French Half-Breed members of the Provisional Government of the Saskatchewan have separated from Rome, and the great mass of the people have done the same.

"If our priests were willing to help us, but up to this time our priests have shown themselves unwilling to leave Rome. They wish to govern us in a manner opposed to our interest, and they wish to continue and govern us according to the dictates of Leo XIII.

"Dear Brothers in Jesus Christ, for the sake of God come and help us, that the enterprise against Rome may be a success, and in return we will do all in our power to secure our political rights."

This attempt on the part of Riel to rebel against his church, and, by setting up a religion of his own, to destroy the influence of the priests, is one of the most remarkable circumstances of the Rebellion. The French Half-Breeds are as a race deeply religious, and much attached to their priests, a fact which Riel perfectly understood. He must, therefore, have had supreme confidence in his influence over his countrymen, when he resolved to call upon them to secede from the faith in which they had been reared. But the most astonishing part of it is that he actually succeeded in carrying with him a number of the Half-Breeds.

His next act was to cut the telegraph wires in the neighborhood of Batoche, communicating with Prince Albert and the East: but this work was only partially performed, so that the means of telegraphing were not wholly destroyed, and news of the Duck Lake disaster soon spread all over Canada.

Even before that deplorable event took place, however, the Canadian Government, on hearing of the first seizure of prisoners and stores by Riel, determined to take immediate steps to suppress the rising; and on the 23rd March, 1885, General Middleton was hurriedly sent to the North-West, to be prepared for any emergency that might arise. The General arrived at Winnipeg on the 27th March, and as by that time the result of the Duck Lake fight was very generally known, he lost no time in organizing and despatching a force to the scene of disturbance.

The following is from his report on the subject, addressed to the Minister of Militia:—"As you are aware, I received my orders from you on the afternoon of the 23rd March last, and I started that evening for the North-West, with my A.D.C., Captain Wise, of "the Cameronians." We arrived in Winnipeg

on the morning of the 27th, and left for Qu'Appelle the same evening with the 90th Battalion, about 260 strong (one company having left the night before). The Winnipeg Field Battery, not being completed with horses, left on Saturday morning, and arrived at Qu'Appelle late that night. The 90th had been called out before General Middleton's arrival in Winnipeg, and had promptly responded, the left wing under Major Boswell, leaving on the 25th for Troy, a station on the main line of the Canadian Pacific. The 28th, 29th and 30th March, were devoted to arranging the Transport and Commissariat Services, which General Middleton placed under charge of M. S. L. Bedson and Captain Swinford, the former being Chief Transport Officer, and the latter, Chief Commissariat Officer. The whole force reached Qu'Appelle on the 2nd April, and remained there four days practising, firing blank and ball ammunition.

In the meantime, the Government called out more troops, and the following quickly answered:—The Governor-General's Body Guards, under Col. Denison: the 10th Royal Grenadiers, under Col. Grasett; the Queen's Own Rifles, under Col. Mil-lar; C. School of Infantry, under Major Smith. These regiments were brigaded under Col. Otter. The late Colonel Williams was authorized to raise a battalion which became known as "The Midlanders," and was composed of two companies of the 46th Battalion, and one each from the 15th, 40th, 45th, 47th, 49th, and 57th Battalions from the Midland district. Four companies of the 35th Simcoe, and four companies of the 12th York Rangers, formed a battalion known as the "Simcoe Rangers," under Colonel O'Brien. The 65th Mount Royal Rifles of Montreal were also called out for active service, under Col. Ouimet, and, in Winnipeg, Col. Scott raised a

regiment known as the 91st Battalion. Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith, C.M.G., was also authorized to raise a battalion in Winnipeg, which he did, under the name of the "Winnipeg Light Infantry."

In addition to these forces, there were a body of fifty sharpshooters from the Governor-General's Foot Guards, under Capt. Todd: the 7th Fusiliers of London, under Lieut.-Colonel Williams, and the 9th Battalion, under Colonel Amyot. Detachments from the 66th, the Halifax Garrison Artillery, and the 63rd, under Lieut.-Colonel Bremner, were called out, as well as the Quebec School of Cavalry, under Colonel Turnbull, and A. and B. Batteries of Quebec and Kingston. Finally, the Montreal Garrison Artillery, under Colonel Oswald, were ordered to proceed to Regina to garrison that place.

The whole of this force numbered about four thousand men, and were called upon at a moment's notice from their homes, to go to the front, and it may not be out of place here to note how General Middleton, in his report, speaks of the conduct of these troops while in the field: "Considering the weather," he says, "the long distance, the difficult rivers to cross, with inadequate means for so doing, and the fact that the troops engaged were all what may be called untrained citizen soldiers and officers, who had hurriedly left their homes, their offices, their desks, their farms, etc., etc., at the call of duty, I think that the marching connected with this campaign will compare favorably with that of the regular troops of any country."

An Intelligence Mounted Corps, composed of surveyors, was raised by Captain Dennis, and local companies of volunteers were formed at Birtle, Regina, Battleford, Emerson, Yorktown, Qu'Appelle, and Calgary. The Rocky Mountain Rangers, under Captain Stewart, and the Moose Mountain Scouts, under Captain White, were also put in commission.

It will thus be seen that a large body of troops was called out, about four thousand of whom left their homes at short notice, to take part in the suppression of an insurrection some two or three thousand miles away. Winter had not closed, and yet, within a few days from the receipt of the news of the Duck Lake fight, the most of the troops were on their way to the North-West. At that time, the Canadian Pacific Railway was not altogether completed north of Lake Superior, and several gaps in the line had to be traversed by the volunteers in teams which the railway authorities furnished. Much credit is due to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the manner in which they performed the transport service on this occasion.

In the meantime, General Middleton left Qu'Appelle, on the 6th April, *en route* for Batoche, the rebel stronghold, and as the snow was still on the ground and beginning to melt, the marching was very difficult. While troops were thus on the way to attack Riel, a most deplorable event took place in another part of the country. Frog Lake, which, in addition to being a Hudson's Bay Post, was also the head-quarters of an Indian Agency, is situated about thirty miles from Fort Pitt. At the time we are writing about, an Indian agent, named Quinn, was stationed there with six mounted policemen as a guard. When news of the Duck Lake fight reached Fort Pitt, Inspector Dickens, who was in charge, sent word to Quinn to leave Frog Lake with all the whites, and take refuge at the Fort. He pointed out that in case of an Indian rising, the few police with him would be no protection, and that all would be massacred, while at Fort Pitt they would have some chance to escape. Quinn, who was married to an Indian woman, had confidence in his own ability to keep the Indians in check

and he replied to Inspector Dickens that there was no danger. This opinion, it appears, was shared by the rest of the whites at Frog Lake, but when the savages heard of the Duck Lake affair they became very excited, and their Chief, Big Bear, having already been approached by Riel, made up his mind to go upon the war path.

On the 2nd April, the Indians visited the Hudson's Bay Store, demanding provisions from Mr. Cameron, the gentleman in charge. They also made the same demand on Quinn, and from demanding they began to pillage. Some of the whites who received warning from friendly Indians now took refuge in the house of Mr. Delaney, the Farm Instructor, but, as it afterwards proved, this did not save them. In the chapel, it being the day before Good Friday, a service was being held by Rev. Fathers Fafard and Marchand, which the Indians rudely disturbed, and on the people going to Delaney's after church, they were followed and taken prisoners to Big Bear's camp. On the way the Indians shot down several persons, commencing with Quinn, the Agent, and Delaney, the Farm Instructor. An eye-witness of the massacre (Mr. Cameron) thus describes what followed:—"I asked Yellow Bear, one of the Indians, what all this meant. Yellow Bear caught me by the hand and said, 'Come this way.' Then, seeing Mrs. Simpson about to leave her house, he said, 'Go with her and leave here.' Cameron walked away with Mrs. Simpson. When we had got a short distance from the house she stopped, and called my attention to the priests, who were standing about a hundred yards away, expostulating with some Indians who were loading their guns. Delaney was close by, and suddenly the Indians raised their guns and rushed at him. Father Fafard dashed up and placed himself in front of the menacing In-

dians, but was overpowered by numbers and thrown down, and 'Bare Neck' shot Delaney, and then, with the other barrel, fired at the priests. Father Fafard and Delaney were badly wounded, and as they lay writhing, 'Man-Who-Wins' walked up and fired at them, killing both. Father Marchand was meanwhile attempting to keep the Indians from going after the woman. When he saw that Father Fafard had been killed he attempted to push his way through the crowd of Indians to reach the body, but they resisted. He was a wiry man, and fought hard. 'Tarvelling (or Wandering) Spirit,' however, rushed up and shot him in the chest and head, and he fell dead. In the rush that followed a moment after this, Gowanlock was killed by 'The Worm.' Gilchrist and Dill were together, and 'Little Bear,' who had previously killed Williseroft, fired on them. Gilchrist fell immediately, but Dill was not hurt, and started to run, but the Indians chased him on horseback, and he was finally killed by 'Man-Talking-to-Another.'"

Among the prisoners taken by the Indians on this occasion, were some French and English Half-Breeds, and these used every exertion to save the women from the deviltry of the Indians. One, named Pritchard, in true Indian style, but with the object of saving her, bought Mrs. Gowanlock, giving one of his horses for her, and then he and Nolin purchased Mrs. Delaney for two horses. In this way, these two ladies were saved from worse than death, and placed where they were secure from harm.

After this, the Indians gave themselves up to revelry, feasting upon the supplies they had stolen. They next destroyed the buildings at Frog Lake, by fire, and after mutilating some of the bodies of their victims, threw them in the cellars of the

burning houses. In the meantime, the people at Fort Pitt were in dread of an attack, and on hearing of the massacre at Frog Lake, took immediate steps to strengthen their position. They also resolved to abandon the place, and for this purpose built two scows in order to float down the river as soon as the ice should break up. Three scouts were sent out to discover the whereabouts of the Indians, and matters were in this state when Big Bear and his band came upon the scene. The Chief at once sent a demand to Inspector Dickens to surrender, but this the latter refused to do, and Mr. Maclean, the Hudson's Bay Company's officer at the fort, went out to parley with the Indians. Maclean was taken prisoner, and seeing that the savages were bent on mischief, sent word to Dickens to get away with his force as quickly as possible. He also sent for his family to join him in the Indian camp. While these events were happening, the three scouts who had been sent from the fort, returned, and, while endeavoring to gain an entrance, one of them, named Cowan, a son of Dr. Cowan, of the Hudson's Bay Company, was shot down, the other two escaping with severe wounds. The following extract taken from the diary of Corporal R. B. Sleight, North-West Mounted Police (who was afterwards killed at the battle of Cut Knife), will prove of interest, as showing how the garrison of Fort Pitt escaped:—

April 14.—No relief, and things look blue. Everybody in good spirits. H. Quinn, D. Cowan and C. Loasby, with three saddle horses, went out scouting to Frog Lake. Body of Indians at top of hill, 800 yards from fort. Two hundred and fifty Indians, armed and mounted. Had Dufresne, Sr., and Haplin, Hudson's Bay Company, prisoners. Big Bear sent letter down. Sent word for everybody to evacuate fort and give up arms. Doors barricaded, and men in places. Indians had big war dance on hill. Indians skulking through woods in every direction. Mr. Maclean, of Hudson's Bay Company, had parley with them on hill.

Double sentries in barracks. Two hundred and fifty Indians, on war path, surround us.

April 15.—Mr. Maclean, at noon, went on hill to parley. Three scouts came galloping through towards Pitt. Constable Cowan shot dead, Loasby badly wounded, and horse killed. Shots fired from loop holes; two Indians killed, Quinn missing, and two wounded. Mr. Maclean and Francois Dufresne taken prisoners. Mr. Maclean wrote down to his wife to come out and give herself up, and all the Hudson's Bay Company employes to do the same. The Hudson's Bay employes, twenty-two in number, gave themselves up to Big Bear. Impossible to hold fort now, so we had to gracefully retire across the river in a scow, and camped for night, not forgetting to bring colors along. Nearly swamped crossing. river being rough and scow leaking badly. General idea prevailing that we would be attacked going down river. Took Loasby along. Thus ended the siege of Fort Pitt.

April 16.—Up at 4.30 after passing a wretched night. Snowing fast, and very windy. Moving slow. Several men frost-bitten. Clothing frozen on our backs. Had some narrow escapes in ice jams. Camped at nine for dinner. Resumed trip at noon.

April 18.—Started at seven a.m. Day dull and cold. Much ice running.

April 19.—Sunday. Left Slap Jack Island at 7.13 a.m. Ran for five hours. Camped on Beaver Island, number 35. Ran on three hours and camped on Pine Island for night.

April 20.—Here all day. Barricaded the scow. Inspected arms. Rough-looking parade. Wounded man better.

April 21.—Left island at 7 a.m. Eleven a.m. hailed interpreter Joseph Alexander and two policemen on south bank. They had despatches for us. They reported Battleford safe, and troops expected daily. Ran all day and stopped on small island for the night. River falling rapidly. Struck on sand-bars. All slept on board scow. Two men on picket.

April 22.—Started at 5.45 a.m., reached Battleford at nine a.m. Garrison turned out and presented arms. Police band played us into fort. Enthusiastic greeting. Ladies gave us a grand dinner.

The names of the victims were: Thomas Quinn, Indian Agent; John Williseroft, mechanic; Mr. Gowanlock, grist and saw mill owner; John Delaney, farm instructor; Charles Gouin, carpenter; Wm. E. Gilchrist, surveyor's assistant; Rev. Father Faford, priest; Rev. Father Marchand, priest; George Dill, trader.

After the evacuation of the fort, Big Bear and his band pilaged the stores, and being well stocked with provisions, they did not roam to any distance. Mr. Maclean and his family, and a number of others, were kept as prisoners, and transferred from one camp to another, during which they suffered a great deal, especially the children, of whom there were several. No actual outrage was committed on these prisoners, which was due to the presence of a number of Wood Crees, who were in Big Bear's camp. They did not gain their liberty, however, until after the engagement at Frenchman's Butte, when Big Bear's force was demoralized and scattered by General Strange, and the prisoners escaped, or were subsequently rescued by the troops sent in pursuit of the fleeing savages.

While these events were happening, the forces under General Middleton were making their way toward Batoche, with mounted infantry scouts spread out well in front, supported by Boulton's scouts. These were followed by an advanced guard of the 90th Battalion, and about 200 or 300 yards in rear came the main column. About this time alarming reports were heard from Battleford, of the danger that post was exposed to, and the column under Lieut.-Colonel Otter was ordered to march direct to that point, thus disarranging somewhat the plans of General Middleton. The latter then resolved to divide his small force so as to move down both sides of the river, in the manner already described. French's scouts and half of Boulton's men were then conveyed across the river by means of scows, and the two columns commenced the march, one of the scows being floated down the river as the troops proceeded.

On the 24th April, while approaching some bluffs, the ad-

vanced scouts were met by a heavy fire from the enemy, who were concealed. Major Boulton at once ordered his men to dismount and hold the enemy in check, while General Middleton, who was with them, sent word to bring up the advanced guard and main body : as soon as they arrived they extended their lines, and a heavy fire was exchanged with the enemy. In a ravine at the spot, a number of the rebels were entrenched in carefully-constructed rifle pits, from which it was difficult to dislodge them, and their fire did a good deal of mischief. The Half-Breeds were under the command of Gabriel Dumont, and carried on a deadly fusilade against the advancing troops.

The troops now steadily advanced, and drove the enemy from bluff to bluff under a heavy fire, and on one occasion, when the Half-Breeds set fire to the prairie, the situation appeared awkward, as the wind blew the smoke into the faces of our men. But General Middleton succeeded in having the fire extinguished, and although for a moment the troops were forced back a little, they soon regained the ground lost, holding their own, and taking cover well, until, using the enemy's own tactics, they fairly drove the Half-Breeds back, until, finally, the latter turned and fled. The men in the ravine, who had kept up a stubborn fight, were also driven out, with the exception of two or three, and, as a thunderstorm was approaching, General Middleton determined to form camp, the fight being practically over. There were 350 volunteers in action, and from papers afterwards found it appears that Dumont had 280 Half-Breeds under him in the fight. It was the intention of Riel and his lieutenant to surprise General Middleton at Fish Creek, destroy his force, and to take him prisoner, but the plan adopted of sending forward scouts, and

drawing their fire, prevented the carrying out of their programme on the part of the rebels.

Of the conduct of the force under him in this fight, General Middleton says:—All my troops, officers and men, behaved well, and my thanks are due to all of them, and their several commanders, of whom a number are specially mentioned.

The following are the names of those killed, and who died of wounds at Fish Creek:—

*Killed*—Gunner G. H. de Manolly, Gunner W. Cook, Private A. W. Ferguson, Private James Hutchins, Private George Wheeler, Private William Ennis.

*Died of Wounds*—Lieutenant Charles Swinford, Corporal John Code, Private Arthur J. Watson, Trooper D'Arcy Baker.



## CHAPTER XI.

### THE CUT KNIFE FIGHT AND CAPTURE OF BATOCHE.

WHILE General Middleton was thus engaging Riel's men near Batoche, Lieut.-Colonel Otter had arrived at Battleford, and hearing that a large body of Cree and Stoney Indians were camped at a distance of thirty-eight miles, determined to take action in order to discover whether they were bent on mischief. It was known that Poundmaker, the Cree chief, was hesitating between peace and war, the latter eventually upon his being able to obtain assistance from Big Bear's tribe. Col. Otter therefore deemed it advisable to prevent a junction of the two chiefs, and on the 1st May set out from Battleford with his force, which was strengthened by the local company of rifles under Captain Nash. He had with him one Gatling gun, two seven-pounders, and a train of 48 waggons, to carry men, rations and stores.

Col. Otter, after marching about six hours, halted until the moon rose, and then continued on through the night, reaching the enemy's camp about daybreak. The approach of the troops was unexpected, and the Indians, taken completely by surprise, gathered themselves together, and attempted to surround Col. Otter and his force. Taking advantage of the cover afforded by the many small coulees and ravines, they opened a most vicious and determined cross-fire, which proved most destructive, owing to the carelessness of the men in ex-

posing themselves. Soon, however, the troops followed the example of the Indians, and made the most of any cover that was obtainable, and quickly demonstrated their ability to cope with their savage foes.

Then the Indians made a rush, and endeavored to capture the Gatling gun, but were gallantly repulsed, and the men, now fairly settled down to their work, went about in a cool and collected manner to force the enemy to abandon their numerous points of advantage and cover. After six hours' fighting, although the flank and rear of the force was clear, the position of the troops was found to be untenable, as both the seven-pounders had become practically useless during the engagement. Moreover, it was thought that some of Big Bear's Indians had formed a junction with those of Poundmaker, and the number of the enemy was estimated to be over five hundred, including some fifty Half-Breeds.

Colonel Otter, therefore, decided to withdraw his force, and return to Battleford, lest a counter-attack might be made on that place. He therefore retired, followed by a few of the enemy, who were, however, quickly driven back by the Gatling, and a couple of shots from a seven-pounder, which to that extent was made serviceable for the time being. The crossing of the creek near the battle-ground was effected without loss, although, as Colonel Otter said, had the enemy followed, much delay and loss of life might have been entailed upon the troops. The only advantage gained by this reconnaissance was that the Indians were forced to declare themselves, and as they proved to be on the side of war, the military authorities knew what to expect from them, and were less liable to be surprised by an attack. Poundmaker, previous to the Cut Knife fight, although he had abstained from

attacking Battleford, and there was some doubt about his ultimate intentions, had committed several depredations on settlers in the neighborhood. His Indians had killed Bernard Tremont, a stock-raiser : James Payne, farm instructor on the Stoney Reserve, and Mr. Smart, a trader, besides pillaging and destroying property, and stealing cattle. Colonel Otter was justified, therefore, in making the attack which he did, but after the Cut Knife affair, he remained on the defensive at Battleford until joined by General Middleton on the 25th May. There is no doubt the Indians lost heavily, and this fact must have had the effect of deterring them from further hostilities.

There were eight of our men killed and fourteen wounded at Cut Knife Hill, the killed being as follows :—Corporal W. H. T. Lowry ; Corporal R. B. Sleigh, who accompanied the party from Fort Pitt, and whose diary we quoted from ; Constable P. Burke, Bugler Foulkes, Private John Rogers, Private Osgood, Private Arthur Dobbs, Charles Winder, a teamster.

After the battle of Fish Creek, General Middleton remained in camp for several days, waiting the arrival of the steamer *Northcote*, and during that time a reconnaissance was made in the direction of Batoche. The killed were also buried, and over their graves a huge cairn of stones, surmounted by a wooden cross, was erected by their surviving comrades. The wounded were sent, in waggons specially prepared for the purpose, to Saskatoon, some forty miles up the Saskatchewan from Fish Creek, where the inhabitants had intimated a desire to attend upon and nurse them.

In the meantime, the steamer arrived with a detachment of the Midland Regiment, under Colonel Williams, and a Gatling

gun in charge of Captain Howard, U. S. State Militia, and on the 5th May, General Middleton had completed his arrangements for an advance on Batoche. About this time, he issued a proclamation to the effect that if the Indians and friendly Half-Breeds would return to their reserves and homes they would be protected. Selecting one of the Indian prisoners in camp as his messenger, he sent half-a-dozen copies of the document to be circulated in Batoche, but Riel seized the man, and confiscated the proclamation before any of the copies were distributed.

The left column of General Middleton's force had been brought across the river to join the right column, and the troops were now composed of the following:—

A. Battery, 2 guns	- - - -	86	officers and men.
Winnipeg $\frac{1}{2}$ Battery, 2 guns	- 40	“	“
One Gatling gun			
10th Royal Grenadiers	- - - 210	“	“
90th Regiment	- - - - 254	“	“
Detachment Midland Regiment	81	“	“
Boulton's Mounted Infantry	- 65	“	“
French's Scouts	- - - - 28	“	“
Total	- - - - - 724	“	“

On the 7th May, this force left the camp at Fish Creek and advanced towards Batoche, as far as Gabriel Dumont's Crossing. During the night strong pickets were posted to guard against a surprise, and in this duty General Middleton was very particular to see that everything was right before turning in for the night. The steamer *Northcote* was now put in a state of defence, and with half a company of Infantry on board, under command of Major Smith, was ordered to drop

down the river so as to be abreast of Batoché on the 9th, and make a diversion if possible in favor of the troops during the proposed attack on that place. We have not space to give full particulars of the advance on Batoché, but on the 9th the attack was commenced, and, as a result, the troops received a check from the enemy, although they held their own. The camp of the night before, which had been left standing, was now brought up by orders of General Middleton, who, in order to give no semblance of a retreat, decided to form a new camp where he was. On this, the first day's fighting, the Gatling gun did good service in silencing the fire of the rebels, which at one time was very heavy from their rifle pits. On the 10th, the enemy appeared to be in greater force, and a series of skirmishes from both sides were carried on, which, as General Middleton says in his report, was good practice and training for the men who were being taught by somewhat painful experience the necessity of using their enemy's tactics and keeping themselves under cover. The loss, on the part of the troops during the two days' fighting, was three killed and fourteen wounded. On this day, the Land Surveyor's Scouts, 50 strong, under Captain Dennis, joined the force at Batoché, and afterwards did good service.

On the 11th, General Middleton, having posted the troops in their positions of the day before, took with him Boulton's Mounted Infantry and the Gatling and set out to reconnoitre a piece of prairie ground which overlooked the houses of Batoché. The enemy opened fire on this small force, which was returned by the Gatling and Mounted Infantry, who succeeded in holding the enemy while the General made an inspection of the position. On this occasion, General Middleton chased and captured a Half-Breed who endeavored to pass

himself off as a non-combatant, but who afterwards proved to be one of the rebels. The effect of this feint on the prairie ground to the enemy's left, was to give the enemy the impression that a general attack was being made causing them to extend their lines more, and in this way the main body of troops were able to regain much of the ground they had lost the day before, as the force of Half-Breeds was less concentrated, and their fire not so destructive. While this skirmishing was going on, the guns continued to shell the houses in Batoche, and at the end of the third day's fighting, when the advance parties of the troops were withdrawn, the enemy did not follow. On this day also, the casualties amounted to only four men slightly wounded.

On the 12th, General Middleton took all the mounted men in camp, numbering about 150, and with one gun of "A" Battery and the Gatling made the same circuit as he had made the day before with Boulton's Mounted Infantry. He then, from this position, engaged the rifle pits, and threw shell into Batoche. In the middle of this firing a messenger arrived from Riel, bearing a white flag, who turned out to be a surveyor named Astley, one of the prisoners held by the enemy. He handed General Middleton the following letter from Riel :

BATOCHE, 12th May, 1885.

If you massacre our families, we are going to massacre the Indian Agent and other prisoners.

LOUIS DAVID RIEL,

*Exovede.*

Per J. W. ASTLEY, *Bearer.*

To this General Middleton at once replied as follows :

MR. RIEL—I am anxious to avoid killing women and children, and have done my best to avoid doing so. Put your



Right Hon. Sir John S. D. Thompson, K.C.Π.G., LL.D., Q.C., P.C.



women and children in one place and let us know where it is, and no shot shall be fired on them. I trust to your honor not to put men with them.

FRED. MIDDLETON,  
*Commanding N.-W. Field Forces.*

At this moment another messenger, also one of Riel's prisoners, named Jackson, made his appearance with a second letter, which read as follows :—

BATOCHE, 12th May, 1885.

SIR—If you massacre our families we will begin by Indian Agent Lash and other prisoners.

LOUIS "DAVID" RIEL,  
*Exovede.*

Per F. E. JACKSON, *Bearer.*

Astley returned to Riel with General Middleton's reply, but Jackson refused to go back to Batoche, although urged to do so, lest his remaining behind might jeopardize the safety of the other prisoners.

When General Middleton returned to camp from making this feint on the right, he found that there had been a misconception of his orders given in the morning to advance, and the troops had remained in camp. In his report of the battle he says that afterwards he was inclined to think this a fortunate circumstance, as it led the enemy to believe that he was going to attack from the prairie, although at first, according to his own words, he used pretty strong language on discovering the inaction of the main body. After the men had their dinners, however, they were moved down to take up the old positions, and press on. It may be mentioned here that the inaction on the morning of the 12th must have arisen from a misconception of orders, as from all we have heard, the men were really

becoming restive at the delay of General Middleton in making a general attack. Indeed, it is a question whether General Middleton would not have done better had he made an earlier attack, instead of skirmishing as he did. He does not appear to have had the fullest confidence in the stability of the volunteers, although he admits in his reports that on every occasion where they were tried, they acted with the greatest bravery.

The attack on Batoche, according to the official report, was as follows: Two companies of the Midland, sixty men in all, under Lieut.-Col. Williams, were extended on the left, and moved up to the cemetery, and the Grenadiers, 200 strong, under Lieut.-Col. Grassett, prolonged the line to the right beyond the church, the 90th being in support. The Midland and Grenadiers led by Lieut.-Cols. Williams and Grassett, the whole led by Lieut.-Col. Straubenzie, in command of the brigade, then dashed forward with a cheer, and drove the enemy out of the pits in front of the cemetery and the ravine to the right of it, thus clearing the angle at the turn of the river. During all this time a heavy fire was kept up from the other side of the river, which annoyed the advance. This was kept down as best they could by a few of the Midland Regiment, in pits on the bank of the river, and one company of the 90th Regiment was sent to support Lieut.-Col. Williams on the extreme left. The Midland Regiment and Grenadiers kept pushing on gallantly, led by Cols. Straubenzie, Williams, and Grassett, until they held the edge of the bluffs surrounding the left part of the plain where the houses were. At this period, one of the Winnipeg Battery guns was got into position where it could shell the houses on the plain, but, after two or three rounds it was disabled, and a gun from A. Bat-

tery took its place and fired a few rounds, but not much damage was done, as the houses were not brick or stone. During this time, the 90th was advanced so as to prolong the line of attack, and, eventually, the Surveyor's Scouts, Boulton's Mounted Infantry, and French's Scouts, were brought down, and dismounting, still further prolonged the line on the right. The Gatling was now ordered up in front of the 90th, to take the houses in flank, and after a few volleys, a general advance was made. With rattling cheers the whole of the houses were taken, the prisoners released, and the position virtually captured. By evening, all firing had ceased, and the troops bivouacked for the night around the buildings. The women and children found in and around Batoche were cared for, and thus ended this memorable fight.

General Middleton, on inspecting the rebel position after the battle, says:—"I was astonished at the strength of the position, and at the ingenuity and care displayed in the construction of the rifle-pits. In and around these pits were found blankets, trousers, coats, shirts, boots, shoes, food, oil, Indian articles of sleep, one or two damaged shot-guns, and one good rifle. It was evident that a detachment of rebels had lived in these pits day and night, and it was easily understood by an inspection of them, how perfectly safe the holders of these pits were from the fire of our rifles, and especially from the Gatling and artillery. These pits were also judiciously placed as regards repelling a front attack, but by attacking their right (which was their weakest point), and driving it in we turned, and took in reverse, all their entrenchments along the edge of the prairie ground, and thus caused a route which ended in a '*suave qui peut*.'"

Riel and Dumont escaped, and the next day a number of the Half-Breeds came and gave themselves up.

The official report of the action gives names of the killed at Batoche during the four days' fighting, as:—Captain John French, Captain E. L. Brown, Lieutenant W. Fitch, Lieutenant A. W. Kippen, Gunner Wm. Phillips, Private T. Moore, Private R. R. Hardisty, Private James Fraser, and forty-six were wounded.

On the rebel side, the Catholic priest at Batoche at first reported 51 killed and 173 wounded, but this afterwards was ascertained to be incorrect, the number killed being 16, and the wounded 30. When we consider the loss of life on both sides, the immense outlay in money, and the misery entailed on the people during this campaign, we cannot avoid a feeling of deep regret that all this wretchedness was not prevented by the Government. That it might have been prevented by giving more attention to the complaints of the settlers seems certain, and that there must have been some good ground for the grievances complained of appears to be equally sure, because we find that at the commencement of the troubles, English, as well as French, joined in denouncing the authorities. There is only one of two ways to look at it, either the Government was misinformed by their officials in the country as to the true position of affairs, or it treated the matter with careless indifference. Whichever way it came about, it cost Canada much in the loss of valuable lives, and an immense outlay of money.

While the attack on Batoche was at its height, Astley, Riel's messenger, appeared a second time, bearing a letter which read as follows:—

BATOCHE, 12th May, 1885.

MAJOR-GENERAL MIDDLETON—General, your prompt answer to my note shows that I was right in mentioning to you the

cause of humanity. We will gather our families in one place, and as soon as it is done we will let you know.

I have the honor to be, General,

Your humble servant,

LOUIS "DAVID" RIEL.

On the outside of the envelope the following words were written :—

"I do not like war, and if you do not retreat, and refuse an interview, the question will remain the same as regards the prisoners."

Astley, on this occasion, acted in a truly noble manner in riding through both lines, during which he received several bullets in his clothes, although he escaped injury. He had previously conveyed the humane intentions of General Middleton to Riel, and now returned to Batoche once more with the object of saving the prisoners, by inducing Riel to surrender.

Riel at this time appears in a truly craven and selfish light, his only desire seeming to be to save his own neck at the expense of his followers. He wrote four different letters to General Middleton, and tore each one up in succession, in his effort to put himself right, and only escaped from Batoche as the troops entered. But in a later chapter we propose to deal with Riel's conduct all through the rebellion, and will now proceed with an account of the movements of the troops.

It would seem from statements made by parties who were present, that the final attack on Batoche was not ordered by General Middleton, but the troops, weary of the delay in skirmishing, took the matter in their own hands, and went on, led by their officers. There seems to be very little doubt that this was the case, and while the personal bravery of the General,

and his skill as a commander, is not to be questioned, there appears to be reason to think that he under-rated the qualities of the Canadian soldiers, and they, taking the matter into their own hands, showed him exactly the stuff they were made of. The General, however, quickly fell in with the desire of the men thus resolutely expressed, and gave his orders as if he were carrying out his own programme. That the troops were restive at the delay in making the attack is well known, but there is another side to the question as to General Middleton's motive for not ordering the advance. According to his own words, he preferred waiting a few days rather than risk the loss of many of the men under his command, who had mothers, sisters, or wives to mourn for them, and if many lives were sacrificed it meant, perhaps, mourning from one end of Canada to the other. With regular troops it was different, as war was their occupation, but with volunteers it was a wish to avoid heavy loss. At all events, the General did not spare words of praise for those who fought at Batoche.

While these events were happening, the party on board the steamer *Northcote* were experiencing much difficulty and danger in bringing the vessel to the scene of the battle. On the 8th May, Major Smith, the officer in charge, placed the steamer in a better state of defence, by piling up sacks of oats, boxes of meats, etc., which were being carried on board for the use of the troops, and we cannot do better than quote the words of Major Smith as to what followed:—"Early on the morning of the 9th," he says, "We prepared to move, and all on board were assigned to their positions. The master was instructed to anchor a little above Batoche. He was aware that a wire cable was stretched across the river at that place, and he knew that there was a danger of its catching the boat, and he was warned to be on the lookout for it.

"A little after 6 a.m., we moved down stream to a point about two miles above Batoche, when finding that we were likely to reach that place before the hour named, 8.00 a.m., we anchored, and at 7.40 again moved on, and immediately afterwards the boat was fired upon from both banks of the river. For a time we did not reply, but the rebel fire soon became hotter, and we commenced both independent and volley firing, and this we continued without intermission, till some distance below Batoche, partly to keep down the opposing fire, and partly to lead the enemy to believe that our force was much larger than it really was. As we passed Batoche, the fire was specially heavy, and I heard a crash as if a portion of the upper deck had been carried away."

It may be well to mention here, before going on with Major Smith's report, that General Middleton's programme, so far as the steamer was concerned, failed, because the troops had not reached Batoche when she passed there. The *Northcote* seems to have been on time, but General Middleton and his force were unable to reach the spot at the hour appointed.

"About two miles below that place," Major Smith continues, "the rebel fire slackened and I ordered the 'cease fire,' and shortly afterwards we came to anchor. I then learned that the smokestacks and the steam whistle had been swept down by the ferry cable and were lying on the deck; that the master and pilot, who had both been in the wheel-house, were in a state of great trepidation, and that Mr. Pringle of the Medical staff, and Vinen, a transport officer's assistant, had been wounded. Finding that we were so far down the river, I asked the master why he had not followed his instructions, when he explained that owing to the heavy fire he could not manage the boat and got on the cable before he was aware of

it. I then directed him to go up stream again, but he objected that that was impossible, as the smokestacks being gone, there was danger of setting fire to the vessel, and besides that, it was unsafe for him to go into the pilot house. Steps were at once taken to repair this damage, and two short stacks made from one, were got into place. That being done, the next difficulty was the pilot house. The steersman positively refused to go into it. We then persuaded him to set his carpenter at it. Material was carried up, and the carpenter was on the house at work, when several shots came from the west shore, one of which hit him in the ankle, and imbedded itself in the foot, and we found that some of the enemy had crept along the west side of the river, and under cover of the bank fired on every man who showed himself on board. This put an end to the work, for, as the Master told me, it was impossible again to induce his crew to come on deck. The steam-whistle having been carried away, we were left without one means of signalling to the troops on shore; the boat authorities would not undertake to replace it, so volunteers were called for, when private Coombes, of C Company, and one of the boat hands, volunteered to put it up, and this they did successfully under a fire from the banks, and without, I am glad to say, any injury to themselves. In the course of the afternoon Mr. Bedson learned that one of his men had acted as a river pilot, and that he would be willing to take the wheel. Accordingly we proposed to the Master that this should be done; but we were again met with objections, and after some talk we concluded that the proposed pilot would not be able to work satisfactorily with the engineer; so, after consultation with Mr. Bedson and Mr. Wise, it was decided to remain in our present position all night. \* \* \* \* Strong guards were then placed, and

every preparation made to meet any possible attack from the shore. During the night the enemy continued to fire on the boat from both banks, but we abstained from replying. On the following morning, Sunday, Mr. Bedson and I again urged the Master to move. He still pleaded the weakness of the pilot-house, but finally, with great reluctance, said that he would do so if we would make it bullet-proof. Mr. Bedson then set his men to work; with the assistance of my men material was got up, and in the course of the afternoon the wheel-house was made satisfactory to the pilot. During all this time, firing from the shore continued at intervals, but as our men worked from the inside, they were not seen, and were in danger only from chance bullets. The question then was, shall we go up stream or down? We were anxious to go to Batoche. The Master said that he could not with safety go up with the barges in tow, and that he was getting out of wood, and must take on more before he could remain anywhere long. We then decided to run down to the Hudson Bay Ferry, leave the barges there, take on wood and sufficient supplies for the column, and return at once to Batoche. About 6.30 p.m., under a fire from the shore, we weighed anchor, and proceeded down the river a few miles, and at dusk anchored for the night. At daylight next morning we again moved, but had little more than started when we ran on a sand bar, and were delayed some three hours. Finally, without any further mishap, we reached the Hudson Bay Ferry about 3 p.m. Here we found the steamer *Marquis*. She had arrived from Prince Albert that morning, and Mr. Bedson having decided to bring her up the river in company with the *Northcote*, steps were at once taken to complete her outfit and make her more defensible: and I directed Mr. White Fraser, commanding the

Mounted Police at that post, to send an officer in charge of her with as large a force of men as he could spare from his command. This he did, and himself proceeded in charge. My orders to both boats were to start up the river at dawn next morning, but owing to delays of one kind and another, it was 8 o'clock before we got off. On the way up, the steering apparatus of the *Marquis* became deranged, and the *Northcote* had to take her in tow. This made our progress very slow, but without any further accident we reached Batoche about 8 p.m., just too late to take part in the splendid victory."

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## CHAPTER XII.

### CAPTURE OF RIEL AND END OF REBELLION.

RIEL and Dumont escaped together from Batoche, and the latter succeeded in making his way to the United States territory, where he was safe from pursuit. General Middleton, hearing that Riel was somewhere in the neighborhood, sent out parties of mounted men to scour the woods in search of the rebel leader, and two of these named Armstrong and Hourie, came upon him and took him prisoner. When he was captured he produced General Middleton's letter, promising him that if he surrendered he would be protected until handed over to the Canadian Government. Armstrong and Hourie having promised that no harm would be done to Riel by the troops, until handed over to the proper authorities, managed to keep him out of sight until close to the camp, when they succeeded in bringing him into General Middleton's tent. A man named Diehl, it is said, assisted in the capture, but his name is not given in the official report.

General Middleton then placed a guard over Riel, who was afraid, not only that the volunteers would do him harm, but also his own people and the Indians, many of whom were greatly incensed against their late leader for having brought them into so much trouble. In fact, after the battle of Batoche, it was deplorable to see the amount of misery that existed amongst the Half-Breed families in the neighborhood,

and their eyes were at last opened to the folly of the course they had been led into by Riel, Dumont and others. General Middleton sent Riel by steamer to Regina, in charge of Captain Young, who placed him in prison, and there we leave him meantime, until we take up the subject of his trial. Other leaders were also sent to Regina, and then the troops crossed the river at Guard du Puis, on the South Saskatchewan, and marched for Prince Albert, arriving there on the 20th May, two days having been consumed in making the crossing.

The people of Prince Albert had been in a state of excitement for about two months, although the place was defended by two hundred Mounted Police under Lieut.-Col. Irvine, and a local corps under Colonel Sproat. The troops were warmly welcomed, and an address was presented to General Middleton. Prince Albert is a straggling town, running along the south bank of the North Branch of the Saskatchewan, and it had been hastily and imperfectly fortified at different points, but, as the ground about it was clear, it was tolerably safe from attack. In fact, no attempt was made against it during the Rebellion, but the uncertainty and dread in which the people lived for weeks, was very trying, especially to the women.

The troops now rested for about a day and a half, and on the 22nd General Middleton left on the steamer *North-West* with half his force for Battleford, leaving the balance to follow by boat, and the mounted men by trail.

On the 23rd, Indian Instructor Jefferson, who had been taken prisoner by "Poundmaker," came out in a small boat to the steamer, and handed General Middleton a letter from that chief. The letter read as follows :—

EAGLE HILLS, May 19th, 1885.

SIR—I am camped with my people at the east end of the Eagle Hills, where I am met by the news of the surrender of Riel. No letter came with the news, so that I cannot tell how far it may be true. I send some of my men to you to learn the truth, and the terms of peace, and hope you will deal kindly with them. I and my people wish you to send us the terms of peace in writing, so that we may be under no misunderstanding, from which so much trouble arises. We have 21 prisoners whom we have tried to treat well in every respect. With greetings.

(Signed) POUNDMAKER. His x mark.

To M. General Middleton, Duck Lake.

To this General Middleton replied as follows:—

POUNDMAKER—I have utterly defeated the Half-Breeds and Indians at Batoche, and have made prisoners of Riel and most of his council. I have made no terms with them, neither will I make terms with you.

I have men enough to destroy you and your people, or at least to drive you away to starve, and will do so unless you bring in the teams you took, and yourself and councillors, with your arms, to meet me at Battleford on Monday the 26th. I am glad you have treated the prisoners well, and have released them.

FRED. MIDDLETON,  
*Major-General.*

On the 24th May, General Middleton arrived at Battleford, where Lieut.-Colonel Otter awaited him with his column, and the Mounted Police under Inspector Dickens, who had escaped from Fort Pitt. Part of the town had been pillaged and

burned by Poundmaker's Indians before the arrival of Lieut.-Colonel Otter, but the greater portion of it had not been molested. The Police Barracks was a weak spot, and imperfectly fortified, but it was never attacked. The Queen's Birthday was celebrated by a parade of the troops, and on the 26th Poundmaker and his councillors marched in and surrendered themselves. On the 20th May, Father Cochin and the prisoners from Poundmaker's camp had made their appearance at Battleford, with the following letter from the chief:—

To the Commandant of the Fort at Battleford:

SIR—I and my men are at the foot of the Eagle Hills. Having heard of Riel's surrender. I send you in twenty-one white prisoners whom I have treated well. I await terms of peace. Please send in writing so there may be no mistake.

POUNDMAKER. His x mark.

Col. Otter sent no answer to this letter, but, as we have seen, General Middleton had ordered the Indians to meet him on the 26th, which they now did.

A long interview took place between the General and the Indians, during which he spoke to them very sharply, ending with the following words:—"After many years of peace between the white and the red men, when some bad men, Half-Breeds and others, chose to rebel against the Government, the Indians forgot that peace existed so long, and a large body rose and joined these other men. The Indians, even Poundmaker, who had been so well treated, rose and robbed because they thought the whites were in difficulties. All around you attacked stores, and killed men and women. You thought that you were going to have it all your own way, and instead of saying 'This is the time for showing ourselves grateful to

the white people, you turned on them whenever you got a chance. This very band (pointing to Poundmaker's) deliberately went out to join the enemy, and if they had beaten us would have gone on plundering, and would have committed more murders: and now, when they find the head rebel Riel, and the Half-Breeds, whom they thought great warriors, beaten, they come in because they are afraid, and tell all sorts of lies, and beg for peace. They thought the Government hadn't more men, and thought that the rebels were better fighters, and could lie in ambush in the bluffs and shoot our men down. Now, we have shown them that it is no use their lying in pits behind bluffs, because we can drive them out and kill them, and they are afraid. Up to this time, you Indians had been in the habit of going to the settlers' houses, saying you were hungry, begging food, and frightening women into giving you food. And occasionally you have even killed men when you have got one alone. Let all Indians understand, that if one white man is killed, ten Indians will suffer for it, and if any disturbance takes place, and the young men think they can go and plunder, they will find themselves much mistaken, for the whole tribe will be made to suffer. I have more soldiers landing, and more coming up, and if you, Poundmaker, had not come in I would have hunted the band down, until I had killed everyone if possible, and if we wish to live at peace, white men with red men, we can't have the red men rising every time trouble occurs and killing small parties, and the sooner you understand that the better. You asked me how you were going to live, I am only a soldier and do not know the intention of the Government; but I believe that if you behave well, and stay on the reservation, you will receive food, will be taught to cultivate the ground, and will be shown

how to earn a living. If Big Bear does not come in and do as you have done, I will take my troops and go off and attack him."

Poundmaker, Yellow Mud, Blanket, Breaking-through-the-Ice, and Lean Man were then detained as prisoners, and the rest of the band told to go to their reserve, a demand being made at the same time for the murderers of Payne and Fremont. Two Indians, Itka and Wa-Wa-Nitch, then came forward and gave themselves up, acknowledging that they had committed the crime.

Poundmaker and his chiefs, with the two murderers, were then led to prison, and the rest of the band returned to their reservation. Thus ended this important pow-wow, which was another step towards the total suppression of the rebellion.

At the outbreak of the rebellion, Riel had sent runners to all the Indian chiefs, with presents of tobacco, and letters inviting them to take to the war-path, and assist in driving the whites out of the country. Alarming rumors were afloat everywhere—Calgary, Edmonton, and Fort Saskatchewan were in a state of panic, and the wires were kept busy with appeals for help and protection.

The Alberta Field Force, in command of Major-General Strange, was despatched to make a reconnaissance in force through the country between Fort McLeod and Edmonton, in which the bulk of the Indian population was located, and to arrange for garrisoning and placing the principal settlements in a condition of defence. His force consisted of the 65th Battalion, Mount Royal Rifles, under command of Lt.-Col. Hughes; The Winnipeg Light Infantry (Provisional), Lt.-Col. W. O. Smith; a detachment of Mounted Police, Major Steele; a small company of Scouts, Major Hatton; and one 9-pr. M.

L. R. gun, Lieutenant Strange. This force was augmented by the 9th Battalion, Lt.-Col. Amyot, which did garrison duty at Calgary after the departure of the rest of the force to the north. The Indians on the reserves between Calgary and Edmonton were disaffected, and had committed several minor outrages, robbing settlers' houses, and plundering Hudson's Bay Company's and other trading posts. General Strange left a company of the Winnipeg Light Infantry at Gleichen, to guard the railway and the trails from the north, and to watch the Blackfeet on the neighboring reserve, dispatched another company of the same regiment to strengthen the garrison at Fort McLeod, and, dividing his remaining forces into three columns, advanced to Edmonton. A messenger of peace had preceded him, in the person of the venerable Father LaCombe, who alone, and at the worst season of the year for travelling, had visited all the Indian reserves, and by his Christian diplomacy had persuaded the savages to maintain a strict neutrality. The appearance of General Strange's red coats and cowboy scouts, prepared to enforce the arguments of the good father, had a salutary effect on the Indians, and they remained quietly on their reserves. Had the Western Indians joined their brothers of the east and north, this history would have had more serious events to record, for the Blackfeet, Piegangs, Bloods, Circes, and Assiniboines were known to be the most warlike and cruel tribes on the plains. Father LaCombe's visit, just at the critical moment, and his intimate friendship with Crowfoot and other powerful chiefs, was, without doubt, a principal cause in keeping these formidable tribes in check.

General Strange left a small Garrison at Red Deer, placed Edmonton in a state of defence, and pushed on to Victoria and Fort Pitt, in the hope of relieving the latter point, which was known to be in possession of Big Bear.

On the 24th May, the force arrived at Frog Lake, when the bodies of the victims of the massacre were hastily buried. General Strange then reports as follows: "On hearing from Captain Oswald, commanding advanced scouts, that Indians were near Fort Pitt, and that he required immediate assistance, I pushed off at once with Major Steel's Cavalry, and Major Perry's detachment with field gun, leaving Col. Osborne Smith to follow with the 92nd, at the same time sending orders to Col. Ouimet with the 65th, to drop down by boat parallel to us.

"I pushed on the first ten miles, and reached Fort Pitt without opposition. I sent scouts in every direction. The Reverend Canon McKay and the Reverend John McDougall crossed the river with scouts; they reported tracks made by white women's feet, and found slippers. I immediately made preparations to cross the river. Next day I received information that Major Steele, commanding advanced scouts to the east or north side of the river, had been fired upon about ten miles distant from Fort Pitt; two Indians were killed and their ponies captured; one of the Indians wore the Queen's medal, and is said to be the headman who commenced the outbreak at Saddle Lake. Meanwhile, I had sent Major Perry with twenty police to reconnoitre south side of the river. I subsequently received a report from Major Steele, that the Indians were in force on his front; the scouts counted one hundred and eighty-seven lodges. I immediately marched with all the troops at my disposal, after leaving a company of the 65th to fortify and protect what remained of Fort Pitt, with the camp equipage and stores I left behind. Mustering 195 rank and file infantry, twenty-nine cavalry, and one gun—wishing to advance quickly—I used all the available waggons to carry the

Winnipeg Light Infantry detachment, and sent the 65th detachment by river on flat boats. On reaching Major Steele and his scouts, I corralled the waggons and advanced four miles and a half, and found the enemy occupying a very advantageous position, and signalling for reinforcements. I immediately attacked and drove them from their position, without loss on my part. Major Steele, with the North-West Police and Scouts under his command, carried the position on the left with the assistance of one company of Infantry, W. L. I. The field gun under Captain Strange and Sergeant O'Connor, N.-W.M.P., and manned by a detachment of W.L.I., made excellent practice. I was not able to wait for the junction of the 65th, who left the boats and advanced with alacrity. I followed the enemy's trail until darkness was approaching, through a terribly thick and difficult country, where I could scarcely find space to corral the waggons and horses. The force being without tents, bivouacked under arms without camp fires.

"At daybreak on the 28th, I again moved forward, finding numerous traces of recent trails joining the Indian forces from every direction. About 7.30 a.m., I found the enemy occupying an impregnable position in the forks of the Red Deer and Little Red Deer, presenting a salient, with a natural glacis crowned with brush and rifle pits along the crest, the Red Deer River, which expands into a muskeg, covering the front and flanks of the position, which extended about three miles. I deployed the little force at my disposal, throwing forward Major Steele, N.-W.M.P., dismounted the scouts, and 65th detachment under Col. Hughes, and half W.L.I., extending on their right, remaining in reserve and Colonel Osborne Smith, commanding reserves; Major Hutton, Alberta Mounted Rifles,

covering right flank. The gun, under Sergeant Owen, made excellent practice, silencing several rifle pits. I corralled the waggons in rear. Finding the direct attack in front impracticable, I ordered Major Steele to retire his men, and make a detour to endeavor to turn the enemy's right flank while occupying their attention on the front. After being absent for some time he returned, and reported the enemy's position extending for a mile and a half, with a muskeg in front impassable for his men, the enemy's position being about three in extent, and defended, the scouts informed me, by at least six hundred men, some of whom crept around me through the wood, and opened fire upon the waggons corralled in rear. The teamsters, however, under Capt. Wright, 43rd Regiment, remained steady under fire. I judged it advisable to retire to more open ground. This was carried out by the forces with perfect deliberation, the gun, under Captain Strange, firing until the last moment, the enemy's fire dying away almost; the return being covered by Major Steele's men, dismounted, we were not molested. They retired to open ground six miles distant, where they corralled the waggons and turned out the horses to graze, and cooked provisions for the men."

Although the advanced line was exposed to a hot fire from the rifle pits for nearly four hours, the casualties during this affair were light, there being three wounded and none killed.

This rather meagre account is all that is recorded, in the Militia Department, of General Strange's operations at Frenchman's Butte, and although it purports to be in his own words, the doughty old warrior afterwards declared in the public press that his report had been altered and garbled. Certain it is that the annual report of the Department of Militia and Defence for 1885 does not do justice to General

Strange, nor the brave men whom he commanded. From the time of leaving Calgary, till after the brush with Big Bear, General Strange only received two despatches from General Middleton, and was left in the dark as to the wishes or intentions of the General commanding, as the messages were rather wanting in the matter of precise information. The first read :—

“ FISH CREEK, 20th April.

“ I had a—(words illegible) and held my own, but had 6 killed and 50 wounded.”

The second :—

“ FISH CREEK, 1st May.

“ To Major-General Strange, Commanding A. F. F., Calgary.

“ Carry out your original plan, release poor women if possible. Go to Fort Pitt and restore confidence. Until you hear further, do not move on Battleford. These — raw soldiers require whipping up at first. When the fracas begins—attack, surround, flying. We have 10 killed, and 40 to 45 wounded. The wounded are doing well. Steamer *Northcote*, with some supplies, stuck ; shall move in a day or two.

“ FRED. MIDDLETON.”

General Strange was anxious to open communications with Colonel Otter at Battleford, and thus with General Middleton, who had arranged to send the first steamer available, with troops up the river, to take Big Bear in reverse. Sergeant Borrowdaile and Scout Scott volunteered for this dangerous service, going down the Saskatchewan in a small canoe from Saddle Lake to Battleford right through the Indian country. The result of their venture is thus described by General Strange :—“ My messengers duly reached General Middleton without mishap, except that Sergeant Borrowdaile had lost his

pistol. General Middleton sent them back to me with a letter from him to Big Bear, demanding his immediate surrender. On Borrowdaile asking for a pistol to be issued to him out of the store, for the return journey, the General told him it was not necessary, as he himself would go through the country with a stick. When he did come, however, he arrived with steamers, carrying a Battalion of Infantry, Gatling Guns, and Cavalry."

On the 30th May, General Middleton left Battleford, with all his column, in three steamers bound for Fort Pitt. The mounted men went by trail on the south bank of the river, and the following day the whole force arrived within six miles of the fort. Here Captain Dale met General Middleton and informed him that General Strange was camped about 12 miles distant, and also brought the welcome information that several prisoners had escaped from Big Bear's camp.

General Strange, by this time, finding that Big Bear and his band had gone off to the northward, had sent Major Steele and his mounted men to find and follow up the trail, and then, finding that the way was not passable for teams, he, with the consent of General Middleton, took his force by the Onion Lake trail to Frog Lake. On the 4th June, word was received that Major Steele had caught up with the rear of Big Bear's band, and killed five of the Indians. General Strange, who had remained behind to see General Middleton, now started to catch up with his force by way of Onion Lake. General Middleton, at the same time, started with his troops, consisting of Boulton's, Herchmer's, Brittlebank's (late French's) and Surveyor's Scouts—about 225 in all, with Major Short, Captain Peters, and Lt. Rivers, and 25 artillery, and 1 Gatling. There were also 150 infantry, consisting of

50 per cent. of each regiment, Royal Grenadiers, 90th Battalion, and Midlanders, under command of Major Hughes of the Midland Regiment. This force followed up Big Bear's trail after Major Steele, but the road was so bad owing to muskegs, etc., and the reports of the trail ahead so unsatisfactory, that General Middleton, on the 5th, sent back the infantry under Major Hughes, much against their will, and ordered up the second Gatling instead. On the same day, Major Steele's party was met returning from where they had engaged the Indians, as they were not strong enough to follow them up, but they joined the troops under General Middleton and advanced with them. Some of the scouts, led by Mr. McKay of the Hudson's Bay Company, now brought in another party who had escaped from Big Bear's camp, namely, Mrs. Delaney, Mrs. Gowanlock and five Half-Breeds, with two Wood Crees who had helped them to escape.

The roads were dreadful and required much work to make them passable. Indeed, General Middleton, in order to provide for an emergency in case he might be obliged to abandon the waggons, had a supply of pack saddles brought up, and as he marched along established depôts, where the tents and other supplies were left, to enable the men to proceed with less difficulty. He also sent orders to Lieut.-Col. Otter at Battleford to take a force across the river, move on to Jack Fish Lake and patrol to the north-west on Squirrel Plain; and to Lieut.-Col. Irvine, commanding the Mounted Police at Prince Albert, to cross a mounted party at Carleton and patrol towards Green Lake, so that with Major-General Strange moving on Beaver River by Frog Lake, and the General's force moving northward, Big Bear was likely to find it difficult to get away. It was learned that the old chief's

band was becoming demoralized and might scatter at any time.

On the 7th June, General Middleton came to a large lake, which was not marked on the maps, and which one of the Half-Breeds told him was named Loon Lake. He afterwards passed another body of water, and, on the 8th, found that the trail of the Indians led through a muskeg, which was apparently impassible to the troops. Two or three mounted men managed, with immense difficulty, to get across the muskeg, and found traces of the Indian camp. Some of the old scouts told General Middleton that he might perhaps get across the muskeg with the loss of half his horses and probably some men, and as he did not think it judicious to risk leaving an obstacle (which would get worse by use) between the force and the supplies, he resolved to return to Fort Pitt. It was felt that Big Bear, finding himself checked whichever way he turned, would give himself up, and this actually occurred.

In justice to a body of men who were cruelly maligned at the time, and to correct the false opinion that may have been formed concerning them, we quote the following from "General Jingo's Jubilee," (by General Strange):—"June 6th, —Marched and camped at Duck Lake (near Beaver River). \* \* \* \* But my infantry were dead beat from marching in rain and through awful mud. The 65th, who had borne the brunt of the marching for 500 miles, having been in the first advance, had tramped the soles off their boots—some were literally barefoot, others with muddy, blood-stained rags tied around their feet.

"And yet Goldwin Smith, Professor of Accurate History (!) writes: '*No French regiment went to the front!*'

"Their commanding officer told me the men could march no

more, and wanted to know when they would be allowed to go home. I outwardly thanked that officer for his information, and rode up at once to the battalion. They certainly presented a pitiable spectacle in their tattered uniforms. The misery of their march through swamp and forest had been added to by the mosquitoes and horse flies, which were almost unbearable.

“Addressing the battalion in French, as was my habit, I said:—*Mes enfans, votre commandant m’a dit que vous demandez quand vous pouvez retourner chez vous. Mais, je n’ai qu’une réponse—c’est celle-là de votre ancien chanson :*

Malbrook s’en va-t-en guerre—a !

Ne sait quand reviendra !

“It had the desired effect, the weary little French Canadians shouted :

‘Hurra ! pour le General ! En avant ! Toujours en avant !’

“And they stepped out to the refrain of their ancestors.”

With Batoche taken, and the prisoners there released, Riel and most of his councillors, and Poundmaker, prisoners, Big Bear and his band disorganized and broken up, General Middleton felt that the war was practically over, and began to issue orders and make preparations for the breaking up of the whole force, and the return of the men to their homes. On the 3rd July, the last of the troops at Fort Pitt were embarked in the steamers for their homeward journey, except the Winnipeg Light Infantry, under Lt.-Col. Osborne Smith, whom General Middleton directed to remain there as a garrison until further orders. On the way down the river General Middleton received the following telegram from Inspector Gagnon, N.-W.M.P. :—

PRINCE ALBERT, July 3, 1885.

MAJOR-GENERAL MIDDLETON,

*Commanding N.-W. Field Force :*

Big Bear and one of his councillors prisoners here : arrested at Carlton yesterday by small detachment of police.

S. GAGNON.

The capture of Big Bear ended a rebellion which had taken over three months to suppress, and in which thirty-six persons lost their lives, and nearly one hundred were wounded on the Canadian side. It would be impossible in the space at our command to give all the instances of personal bravery during the campaign, as officers and men vied with each other in performing deeds of valor worthy of old and tried troops.

General Middleton, at the close of his report on the campaign, took occasion to record his thanks to his officers for the zeal and courage they displayed, and in showing his appreciation of their services. He was also paying a well-deserved tribute to the men under them.

The following is the list :—

PERSONAL STAFF.

Lieut.-Col. Lord Melgund, Chief of Staff.

Capt. Wise, A.D.C.

Capt. E. Doucet, A.D.C.

Lieut. Freer, A.D.C.

HEAD QUARTER STAFF.

Lieut.-Col. Van Straubenzee, 2nd in command.

Lieut.-Col. Houghton, D.A.G.

Major Smith, A.A.G.

Capt. Haig, A.Q.M.G.

Capt. Young, Brigade Major.

Mr. Bedson, Chief Transport Officer.

Mr. Secretan, Assistant Transport Officer.

Capt. Swinford, Chief Commissariat Officer.

Capt. Cole, Camp Quarter-Master.

#### GENERAL LIST.

Major-General Laurie, Colonel Commanding at Base.

Major-General Strange, Commanding Alberta Column.

Lieut.-Col. Otter, Commanding Battleford Column.

Lieut.-Col. Montizambert, Commanding Artillery.

Lieut.-Col. Miller, Commanding Queen's Own Rifles.

Lieut.-Col. Grasett, Commanding 10th R. G. Regt.

Major Dawson, 10th R. G. Regt.

Lieut.-Col. Mackeand, Commanding 90th W. Rifles.

Major Boswell, 90th W. Rifles.

Major Hughes, Midland Batt.

Major Jarvis, Commanding W. F. Battery.

Lieut.-Col. Boulton, Commanding Scouts.

Captain Dennis, Commanding Surveyors' Scouts.

Major Short, R.C.A., Commanding B. Battery.

Captain Peters, R.C.A., Commanding A. Battery.

Captain Drury, R.C.A., Commanding Guns A. Battery.

Lieut. Sears, C. Company.

Needless to say (remarks the General), had Lieut.-Col. Williams lived, his name would have appeared on this list.

#### MEDICAL.

Dr. Roddick, Deputy Surgeon General.

Dr. Orton, Brigade Surgeon.

Dr. Gravely (Brigade Surgeon on Dr. Orton's departure).

Dr. Bell.

Nurse Miller (whose services as Head Nurse to the wounded, were invaluable and unremitting).

Chaplains—Rev. Mr. Gordon. Rev. Mr. Whitcombe.

Lieut.-Col. Herchmer, N.-W. M. P.

Major Steele, “ “

Inspector Perry, “ “

Inspector White Fraser, “ “

Lieut.-Col. Turnbull, Cavalry School Corps.

“ Denison, Gov.-General's Body Guard.

“ Oswald, Montreal Garrison Artillery.

“ Williams, 7th Fusiliers.

“ Amyot, 9th Battalion.

“ O'Brien, York and Simcoe Batt.

“ Bremner, Halifax Batt.

“ Ouimet, 65th Batt.

“ Scott, 92nd Batt.

Capt. Stewart, Rocky Mountain Rangers.

Capt. White, White's Corps of Scouts.

Major Watson, Yorktown Co'y.

The General also expressed his obligations to Sir Alexander Galt, K. C. M. G., President of the Galt Steamer Navigation Company; Mr. Egan, Managing Superintendent of the C.P.R.; Mr. Wrigley, Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company; Mr. MacLeod, of the Post Office Department at Winnipeg, and Messrs. Gisborne, Dwyer, and Slackwood of the Telegraph Company; Mr. MacDowell of Prince Albert, and Mr. Hayter Reid, Assistant Indian Commissioner.

We are of opinion that there are a number of others who should have been mentioned by the General, but we give the names as found in his general report.

The great services rendered to the Government by the Hud-

son's Bay Company, in placing their steamers at the disposal of the troops, in furnishing other means of transport and supplies, can hardly be estimated, but one thing is certain, that without the splendid organisation of that vast corporation throughout the country, Canada would have had a much more difficult task in quelling the rebellion, and it could not have been accomplished as readily as it was.

The actual number of killed and wounded on the rebel side will probably never be known, but sufficient has been ascertained to show that it was very great. In addition to this, these misguided people not only suffered much during the rebellion, but long afterwards. Misled by a designing leader, whose chief object seems to have been his own aggrandizement, there is no doubt the majority of them considered that they were fighting for their rights and liberties. In doing so they showed both pluck and endurance. The chief stain upon their attempt was bringing Indians into the conflict, because they knew better than anyone else the ruthless ferocity and utter cruelty of the red savages when fairly aroused; but in this, as in the whole act of rebellion, the leaders were more to blame than the people who were misled into the trouble. The most remarkable feature in the rebellion is the success which attended Riel's attempt to set up a religion of his own, with himself as the prophet. The French Half-Breeds have always been devoted to their church, and why they should have allowed their priests to be insulted and over-ridden by Riel and his immediate followers, is past understanding. Why they should have stood by and seen the reverend fathers murdered and imprisoned by Indians without resenting it, is something difficult to explain. But it shows that the state of excitement to which they were aroused must have been very great, and

accounts in a great measure for the determined opposition they offered to the troops. The question then naturally arises, could not this excitement have been allayed at the outset by the Government, by judicious management on the part of officials. The feeling in the North-West among many was that it could have been.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF RIEL.

ON the 20th July, 1885, at 11 a.m., the court assembled at Regina, for the trial of Riel, Mr. Justice Richardson being on the Bench, with Mr. Henry Le Jeune as associate justice. Mr. Dixie Watson, Clerk, and Wallace McLean, J. S. Monahan, James T. Parkes and F. R. Marceau, official reporters.

The indictment upon which Riel was tried, read as follows :

Before me, Hugh Richardson, one of the Stipendiary Magistrates of the North-West Territories, exercising criminal jurisdiction under the provisions of the North-West Act, 1880.

Louis Riel, you stand charged on oath before me as follows :

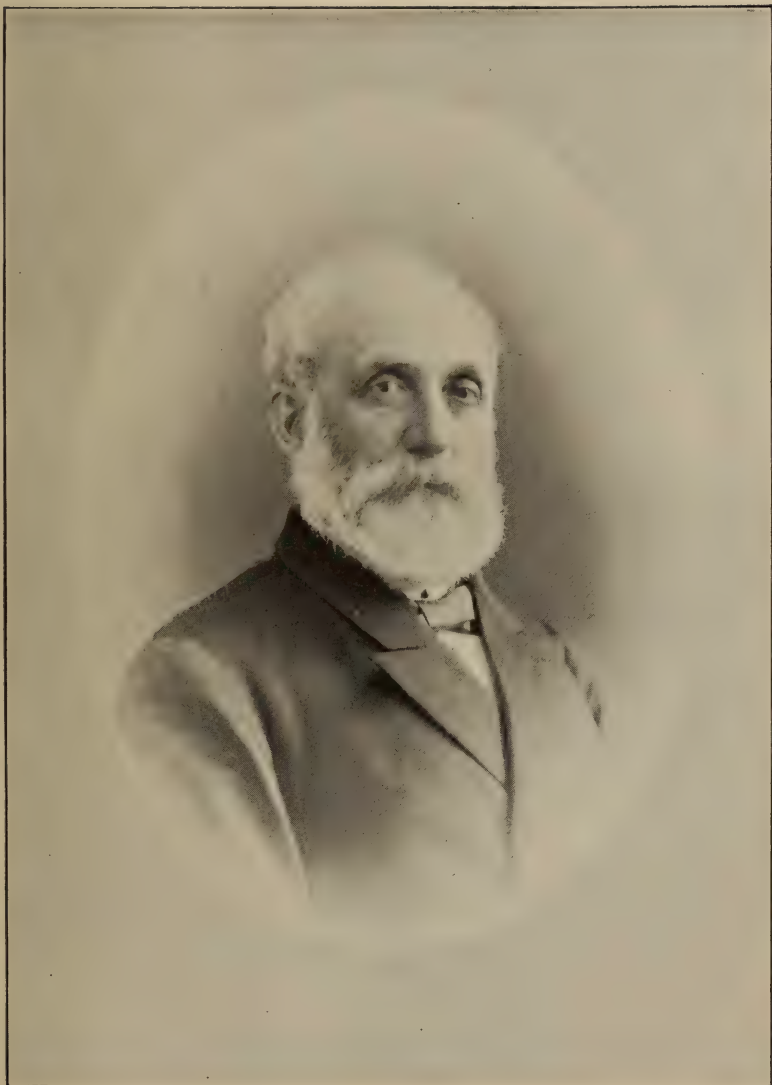
The information and complaint of Alexander D. Stewart, of the City of Hamilton, in the Province of Ontario, in the Dominion of Canada, Chief of Police, taken the sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, before the undersigned, one of Her Majesty's stipendiary magistrates in and for the said North-West Territories of Canada, who saith :

1. That Louis Riel, being a subject of our Lady the Queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil as a false traitor against our said Lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity and obedience which every subject of our said Lady the Queen should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, in the year aforesaid, together with, on the twenty-sixth day of March, divers other false traitors, to the said Alexander David Stewart unknown, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, rifles, pistols, bayonets and other weapons, being thus unlawfully, maliciously and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said Lady the Queen, at the locality known as Duck Lake, in the said the

North-West Territories of Canada, and within this realm : and did then maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavor by force and arms to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established, and deprive and depose our said Lady the Queen of and from the style honor and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this realm, in contempt of our said Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to the duty of the allegiance of him the said Louis Riel, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our said Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

2. And the said Alexander David Stewart further saith :—That the said Louis Riel, being a subject of our said Lady the Queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, as a false traitor against our said Lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity and obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, on the twenty-fourth day of April, in the year aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, to the said Alexander David Stewart unknown, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, rifles, pistols, bayonets and other weapons, being then unlawfully, maliciously and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said Lady the Queen, most wickedly, maliciously and traitorously did levy and make war against our said Lady the Queen at the locality known as Fish Creek, in the said North West Territories of Canada, and within this realm, and did then maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavor by force and arms to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established, and deprive and depose our said Lady the Queen of and from the style honor and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this realm, in contempt of our said Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending; contrary to the duty of the allegiance of him the said Louis Riel, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our said Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

3. And the said Alexander David Stewart further saith :—That the said Louis Riel, being a subject of our Lady the Queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, as a traitor against our said Lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity and obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, on the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth days of May, in the year aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, to the said Alexander David



Sir Mackenzie Bowell, K.C.M.G.



Stewart unknown, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, rifles, pistols, bayonets and other weapons, being then unlawfully, maliciously and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said Lady the Queen, most wickedly, maliciously and traitorously did levy and make war against our said Lady the Queen at the locality known as Batoche, in the said North-West Territories of Canada, and within this realm, and did then maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavor by force and arms to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established, and deprive and depose our said Lady the Queen of and from the style honor and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this realm, in contempt of our said Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in like case offending, contrary to the duty of the allegiance of him the said Louis Riel, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our said Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity

4 And the said Alexander David Stewart further saith :—That the said Louis Riel, then living within the Dominion of Canada and under protection of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, as a false traitor against our said Lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity and obedience which he should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, on the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, to the said Alexander Stewart unknown, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, rifles pistols, bayonets and other weapons, being then unlawfully maliciously and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said Lady the Queen, most wickedly, maliciously and traitorously did levy and make war against our said Lady the Queen, at the locality known as Duck Lake, in the said North-West Territories of Canada, and within this realm and did then maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavor to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established, and deprive and depose our said Lady the Queen of and from the style honor and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this realm, in contempt of our said Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in like case offending, contrary to the duty of the allegiance of him the said Louis Riel, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our said Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

5. And the said Alexander David Stewart further saith : That the said Louis Riel, then living within the Dominion of Canada, and under the protection of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved

and seduced by the instigation of the devil, as a false traitor against our said Lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity and obedience which he should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, on the twenty-fourth day of April, in the year aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, to the said Alexander Stewart unknown, armed, and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, rifles, pistols, bayonets, and other weapons, being unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously assembled and gathered against our said Lady the Queen; most wickedly, maliciously, and traitorously did levy and make war against our said Lady the Queen, at the locality known as Fish Creek, in the said the North-West Territories of Canada, and within this realm, and did then maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavor by force and arms to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established, and deprive and depose our said Lady the Queen of and from the style, honor and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this realm, in contempt of our said Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in like case offending, contrary to the allegiance of him the said Louis Riel, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our said Lady the Queen, her Crown and dignity.

6. And the said Alexander David Stewart further saith: That the said Louis Riel, then living within the Dominion of Canada, and under the protection of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, as a false traitor against our said Lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity and obedience which he should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, on the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th days of May, in the year aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, to the said Alexander David Stewart unknown, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say with guns, rifles, pistols, bayonets, and other weapons, being then unlawfully, maliciously and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said Lady the Queen, most wickedly, maliciously and traitorously did levy and make war against our said Lady the Queen at the locality known as Batoche, in the said the North-West Territories of Canada, and within this realm, and did then maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavor by force and arms to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established, and deprive and depose our said Lady the Queen of and from the style, honor and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this realm, in contempt of our said Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in like case offending, contrary to the duty of the allegiance of him the said Louis Riel, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided,

and against the peace of our said Lady the Queen, her Crown and dignity.

Sworn before me the day and year above mentioned,  
 at the town of Regina, in the North-West Terri- }  
 tories of Canada. } A. D. STEWART.

HUGH RICHARDSON,

A Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the  
 North-West Territories of Canada.

Messrs. Christopher Robinson, Q.C., B. B. Osler, Q.C., G. W. Burbidge, Q.C., D. L. Scott, and T. C. Casgrain appeared for the prosecution, and Messrs. F. X. Lemieux, Charles Fitzpatrick, J. N. Greenshields, and T. C. Johnstone, undertook the defence.

Mr. Lemieux commenced by presenting a plea to the jurisdiction of the court, and stated that Mr. Fitzpatrick would argue that part of the case. The plea to the jurisdiction of the court, on being sworn to by Louis Riel, was read to the court as follows:—

The Queen *vs* Louis Riel,—charged under the North-West Territories Act of 1880—and the said Louis Riel, in his own proper person, cometh into the court here, and having heard the information and complaint of Alexander David Stewart, of the city of Hamilton, in the Province of Ontario, in the Dominion of Canada, Chief of Police, taken the 6th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eighty hundred and eighty-five, before Hugh Richardson, one of Her Majesty's stipendiary magistrates, in and for the North-West Territories of Canada, saith:—

That Hugh Richardson, Esq., one of Her Majesty's stipendiary magistrates of the North-West Territories of Canada, exercising criminal jurisdiction in open court, with a justice of peace and a jury of six, under the provisions of the North-West Territories Act of 1880, ought not to take cognizance of the offences in the said information charged and specified, because protesting that he is not guilty of the same, nevertheless the said Louis Riel saith that the offences with which he is charged are punishable with death, and he should be committed for safe custody, and sent for trial to Upper Canada, or to any court constituted in British Columbia, taking cognizance of like offences committed therein, and because in virtue of the laws in force in the place where the said offences are charged

to have been committed, the said Hugh Richardson, in open court, with a justice of the peace and a jury of six, has no jurisdiction to try the offences charged in the said information.

Wherefore the said Louis Riel prays judgment if the said Hugh Richardson, in open court, with a justice of the peace and a jury of six now here, will take cognizance of the charges aforesaid.

The plea of jurisdiction was ably argued by both sides, but Mr. Justice Richardson did not agree with the contention of the counsel for the defence, that the Act of 1880 is *ultra vires*. So far as it relates to the trial of capital cases, he sustained the demurrer to the plea.

Then Mr. Johnstone demurred to the information, but this being also overruled, the prisoner Riel pleaded not guilty. The counsel for the defence then asked for an adjournment, in order to procure certain necessary witnesses who were not in attendance, and during the argument in support of this, Mr. Greenshields made the remarkable statement that the endeavors of the prisoner's lawyers to obtain information were being frustrated by the counsel for the prosecution, or some one for the Government, and concluded by saying that if forced on with the trial, they would really have no defence to make—that they had no witnesses on the spot. An adjournment was asked for a month, but finally a compromise was effected, by which the case was postponed until the 28th July.

On that day the jury was empannelled, several being challenged by the defence before the requisite number of jurors was obtained, and the trial proceeded. There were twenty-seven witnesses examined, and a mass of evidence elicited against and for the prisoner. We can only bring out a few points in this evidence with the limited space at our disposal, and will therefore be careful to select such testimony as will throw some light on the motives which actuated Riel in carrying on the rebellion.

John W. Astley, the man who acted so pluckily in carrying messages between Riel and General Middleton at Batoche, swore that Riel asked him to explain to General Middleton the risk he (Riel) ran personally, and also that he was not to blame. That his council was to blame. Charles Nolin said that about a month after Riel arrived in the country from Montana, he shewed him a book he had written while in the United States, which advocated the destruction of England, Canada, Rome, and the Pope. In December, 1884, Riel first began to show a desire to obtain money for himself. He said that the Canadian Government owed him \$100,000, and afterwards declared to Nolin that, having made his peace with the church, Père André had promised to use his influence with the Government to obtain for him \$35,000—that if he got the money he would go wherever the Government wished to send him. Riel said he told Père André that if he was an embarrassment to the Government by remaining in the North-West, he would even go to the Province of Quebec, but afterwards he said he would go to the United States, start a paper, and raise other nationalities, and bring foreign armies into the country. He was then to destroy Manitoba, and take possession of the North-West.

During Nolin's examination, Riel interrupted and endeavored to ask questions, but his lawyers interfered and protested against the prisoner being allowed to take part in the conduct of his own case, when he had counsel to defend him. Riel then submitted, but very unwillingly.

Thomas Sanderson said that Riel told him he had cut loose from Rome altogether, and would have nothing more to do with the Pope, that they were not going to pay taxes to Rome. Père André gave testimony in regard to the constitutional

agitation which was carried on by English and French settlers prior to July, 1884, and said that in December he communicated with the Dominion Government in December of that year, in regard to Riel, who then wished to leave the country. The Reverend Father said that Riel conveyed the idea to him that he himself was the Half-Breed question, and on its being objected, that even should the Government grant him \$35,000, the people's claim would remain the same, Riel replied that if he was satisfied the Half-Breeds would be. On the subject of religion, Père André said: He (Riel) was a fervent Catholic, attending the church and attending to his religious duties frequently, and his state of mind was the cause of much anxiety. In conversation on politics and on the rebellion, and on religion, he stated things which frightened the priests. Once all the priests met together, and they put the question: Is it possible to allow that man to continue in his religious duties? And they unanimously decided that on this question he was not responsible, that he was completely a fool on this question, that he could not suffer any contradiction. On the question of religion and politics, we considered that he was completely a fool. In discussing these questions, it was like shewing a red rag to a bull, to use a vulgar expression. Philip Garnot swore that Riel talked to him of changing the Pope, or something of that kind, and wanted the people to acknowledge him as a prophet, giving them to understand that he had the spirit of Elias. Father Vital Fourmond stated that Riel had extraordinary ideas on the subject of the Trinity. The only God was God the Father, and that God the Son was not God: the Holy Ghost was not God either; the second person of the Trinity was not God, and, as a consequence of this, the Virgin Mary was not the mother of God, but the mother of the Son

of God. That is the reason why he changed the formula of the prayer which is commonly known as "Hail Mary." Instead of saying "Hail Mary, mother of God," he said, "Hail Mary, mother of the Son of God." He did not admit the doctrines of the church of the divine presence: according to his ideas it was not God who was present in the host, but an ordinary man 6 feet high. \* \* \* He said he would go to Italy, overthrow the Pope, and choose another Pope of his own making.

Dr. Roy, of Quebec, testified that Riel had been nineteen months in Beauport asylum, suffering from magalomania, and on being asked to explain the symptoms of the disease, said:—The particular characteristic of this malady is that in all cases they show great judgment, not immediately connected with the particular disease with which they suffer. They sometimes give you reasons which would be reasonable, if they were not starting from a false idea. They are very clever on those discussions, and they have a tendency to irritability when you question or doubt their mental condition, because they are under a strong impression that they are right, and they consider it to be an insult when you try to bring them to reason again. On ordinary questions they may be reasonable, and sometimes may be very clever: in fact, without careful watching, they would lead one to think that they were well.

Dr. Daniel Clark, of Toronto, showed very clearly from his stand-point, based on an examination of the prisoner, and the evidence which he had heard, that Riel was not of sound mind. Dr. James M. Wallace, although he had only examined Riel for about half an hour, stated that he considered him perfectly sane. In cross-examination, however, he narrowed this opinion down to saying that he had not discovered any

signs of insanity in the prisoner. The testimony of Dr. Jukes was also to the effect that Riel was of sound mind, but on cross-examination he admitted that he had never spoken to Riel on the subjects upon which he was regarded as insane. Altogether it would seem that the defence had the best of it in the expert testimony produced. Captain Holmes Young, during his examination, produced a book in which Riel had written an explanation of the word "*Erovede*," which he had been in the habit of using in connection with his signature. The following is the extract:—" *Erovede* from two latin words *ex*, which means from, and *ovede*, flock. That word I made use of to convey that I was assuming no authority at all. And the advisers of the movement took also that title, instead of councillors or representatives; and their purpose for doing so was exactly the same as mine, no assumption of authority. We considered ourselves a part of society, and near us another part of the same society, attempting to rule over us improperly, and by false representations, and through mismanagement of public affairs, were injuring us greatly, at the same time they were obtaining the ear of the Government. They were turning all the press against us. The situation was leading us simply to annihilation. Without assuming any authority than that which exists by itself in the condition of our nature, we recurred to the right of self-preservation, and those who agreed to act together in the protection of their existence, threatened in so many different ways, took the names of *erovedes*. So that, having their distinctive title for the time being, and to be known as the men of the movement when the crisis would be over, the reaction would be as slight as possible: for the reason that what would have been undertaken and accomplished under the sound authority of good

sense, could have no other result than good ones, and consequently the movement prove to be less a disturbance than a remedy to some things, which were previously going too far in the wrong. Several times, it is true, we made use of the words 'representative members of the council,' but we had to do it until the word *exovede* was understood, and until it would begin to become usual amongst even the men of the movement. So the council itself is not a council, and being composed of *exovedes*, we have called it the *excoveclate*."

The whole testimony went to show that Riel, on being invited over from Montana, took part at first in a constitutional agitation—That he then began to plan a resort to force, in which he succeeded in arousing the French Half-Breeds to join—Thereupon the English sympathizers withdrew from the movement, and Riel, early in the day, called upon the Indian tribes to assist him. It was shewn that, at one time, if he could have secured a sum of money for himself he would have abandoned the cause of the people who trusted to him as their leader. When the tide turned against the rebels, and Riel saw that the day was lost, his chief anxiety seemed to be for his own personal safety, and while the question of his sanity is left in doubt, there was sufficient to prove that he was guilty, not only of treason, but also of jeopardizing the lives of inoffending settlers by calling the Indians to take part in the disturbance.

Towards the close of the trial, he made a long and pathetic address in his own behalf, but it did not avail him, as the jury on the 1st of August, brought in a verdict of "guilty," with a recommendation to mercy. Then Riel spoke again, giving a history of his career, and his version of the disturbances of 1869-'70, and 1884-'85.

Mr. Justice Richardson then pronounced the sentence of the Court in the following words:—

Louis Riel, after a long consideration of your case, in which you have been defended with as great ability as I think counsel could have defended you with, you have been found, by a jury who have shewn I might almost say unexampled patience, guilty of a crime the most pernicious and the greatest that man can commit. You have been found guilty of high treason. You have been proved to have let loose the flood-gates of rapine and bloodshed, you have, with such assistance as you had in the Saskatchewan country, managed to arouse the Indians, and have brought ruin and misery to many families who, if you had simply left alone, were in comfort, and many of them were on the road to affluence.

For what you did, the remarks you have made form no excuse whatever. For what you have done the law requires you to answer. It is true that the jury, in merciful consideration, have asked Her Majesty to give your case such merciful consideration as she can bestow upon it. I had almost forgotten that those who are defending you have placed in my hands a notice that the objection which they raised at the opening of the court must not be forgotten from the record, in order that if they see fit they may raise the question in the proper place. That has been done. But, in spite of that, I cannot hold out any hope to you that you will succeed in getting entirely free, or that Her Majesty will after what you have been the cause of doing, open her hand of clemency to you.

For me, I have only one more duty to perform, that is to tell you what the sentence of the law is upon you. I have, as I must, given time to enable your case to be heard. All I can suggest or advise you is to prepare to meet your end, that is all the advice or suggestion I can offer. It is now my painful duty to pass the sentence of the court upon you, and that is, that you be taken now from here to the police guard-room at Regina, which is the gaol, and the place from whence you came, and that you be kept there till the 18th September next, that on the 18th September next you be taken to the place appointed for your execution and there be hanged by the neck till you are dead, and may God have mercy on your soul.

After sentence had been passed, Mr. Fitzpatrick gave notice of appeal for a new trial, to the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba, upon the question of the jurisdiction of the court. The trial and sentence was upheld by the Court of Queen's Bench, at the sitting of the full court in Winnipeg, on the 9th

September. Chief Justice Wallbridge, in delivering judgment, referred to the facts brought before the court, to the statutes by which the stipendiary magistrates are appointed in the North-West, to the powers given them for the trial of cases before them, and to the cases, including treason, which have to be tried before a magistrate with a justice of the peace and a jury of six. His Lordship's decision was, that the constitutionality of the court was established by the statutes. If the Act passed by the Dominion Parliament was *ultra vires*, as claimed by the defence it was clearly confirmed by the Imperial Act, subsequently passed, which made the Dominion Act equal to an Imperial Act. He held that the objections were purely technical and, therefore, not valid, and his opinion was, that a new trial should be refused and the conviction sustained.

Riel's counsel then notified the executive that they would appeal to the Privy Council in England, and in order to give an opportunity to fully test the legality of the proceedings, a respite was granted until the 10th November. The appeal was heard before the Privy Counsel in England, and was dismissed, and the sentence of the court confirmed. After this, a further respite was granted, from the 10th November until the 16th. In the meantime, the mental condition of Riel after his conviction was enquired into, and, as a result, the following reports were received from medical men called upon to examine him :

Riel's peculiar views upon religious subjects, which so strongly impress the ignorant and unreflecting with an idea of his madness, cannot rightly be regarded as interfering with or obscuring in the slightest degree, his clear perception of duty, or as rendering his judgment less sound in the affairs of every-day life. I, therefore, record my opinion that with the reservation above made (purely religious questions having relation to what

may be called divine mysteries) Riel is a sane, clear-headed, and accountable being, and responsible for his actions before God and man.

A. JUKES, Senior Surgeon.

After having examined carefully, Riel, in private conversation with him, and by testimony of persons who take care of him, I have come to the conclusion that he suffers under hallucinations on political and religious subjects, but on other points I believe him to be quite sensible, and can distinguish right from wrong.

F. X. VALADE, M.D.

I have the honor to report, that after giving conscientious consideration to the case of Louis Riel, now confined here under sentence of death, and fully appreciating the trust committed to me, and all the consequences involved, I am of the opinion that the said Louis, although holding and expressing foolish and peculiar views as to religion and general government, is an accountable being, and capable of distinguishing right from wrong.

M. LAVELL, M.D.

When the above certificates are compared with the testimony at the trial, of Dr. Daniel Clark, Superintendent of the Toronto Lunatic Asylum, who said, "I could convince any lawyers, if they will come to Toronto asylum, in half an hour, that dozens in that institution know right and wrong, both in the abstract and in the concrete, and, yet, are undoubtedly insane," their value as certificates of sanity was not to be depended upon. Whether Riel was sane or insane is a question we have no wish to discuss. We are merely chronicling events as they happened, and in that light, reading all the testimony on this point, the preponderance is certainly in favor of Riel's insanity. We certainly cannot be said to have attempted any defence of his conduct. It was too heinous, and the motives which apparently actuated him were too despicable to be defended. His sanity or insanity, at the time when he committed the acts for which he was tried, appears, however, from the testimony rendered to be an open question.

There was a very strong feeling in the Province of Quebec, that the trial was not a fair one, and public meetings were

held to protest against it. Petitions flowed in upon the Government, asking that the sentence of the court should not be carried out, but all to no purpose. The Government decided to allow the law to take its course.

On the 16th November, 1885, Louis Riel died on the scaffold. As he passed from the prison to the place of execution, he exclaimed to Father André, who was attending him, "Courage mon Père," and before he came to the gallows he knelt in prayer, making the responses in a firm voice. Riel met his death like a man. After praying for some time, the sheriff notified the priests (Fathers McWilliams and André) that the time was up. Père André then explained to Riel that the end was near, and asked him if he was at peace with all men. The answer was "Yes." The next question was, "Do you forgive your enemies?" And again the answer, "Yes." Riel then asked if he might speak, but his spiritual advisers advised him not to do so. Arrived at the scaffold, Riel prayed earnestly while the executioner pinioned him, and the last words uttered by him, as the bolt was drawn which ushered him into eternity, were, "Jesu, Marie, assistez moi."

So ended a man who did some good during his lifetime, but who, also, brought much misery and suffering to his countrymen.

In September the trial of the other prisoners proceeded, but it would be impossible for us to give even a summary of the evidence. Eleven Indians were sentenced to be hanged on 27th November, but three were reprieved and their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. The eight condemned men were Wandering Spirit, Ickta, Little Bear, Iron Body, Round-the-Sky, the Man-Without-Blood, Bad Arrow and Miserable Man. These men were all executed at one time, at

Battleford, on the 27th November, 1885, the hanging being witnessed by a large number of Indians, who came from all parts of the country to see it. A number of other Indians were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and of the Half-Breeds tried, the following were given seven years in the penitentiary:—Alexander Cayen, Maxime Dubois, Pierre Henry, Maxime Lepine, Albert Monkman, Pierre Paranteau, Pierre Vandalle, Philip Guardepuy, Philip Garnot, James Short, Baptiste Vandalle.

Alexander Fisher, Pierre Guardepuy, and Moise Ouillette, were each sentenced to three years, and Joseph Arcand, Ignace Poitras, junior, Ignace Poitras, senior, and Moise Paranteau, each received a sentence of one year. The following were discharged: Joseph Delorme, Alexander Labombarde, Joseph Pilon, Baptiste Rocheleau, Poitrie Tourand, Francis Tourand.

Thus ended a rebellion which cost the Dominion several million of dollars, the loss of many valuable lives, and much misery to the settlers living in the country. But it was the death-stroke to rebellion for all time to come among the Indians and Half-Breeds of the North-West.

Grave charges were also made against General Middleton and some of his officers, of having appropriated furs and other articles taken as spoils of war during the campaign, but the most that can be said of them was that while there was no evidence of indiscretion on the part of the accused, there was nothing to reflect seriously upon their integrity. A lamentable controversy was carried on afterwards between General Middleton and some of his subordinate officers, in regard to the conduct of the campaign, but as it savored much of personal hostility, and abuse of each other on the part of the participants, we prefer that it should not occupy a place in these pages.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### A REVIEW OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

AT the risk of being accused of repetition, we think it well to give a résumé of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company from the year of its formation down to the present time.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company was incorporated in February, 1881, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the Dominion, for the purpose of constructing a line of railway connecting the seaboard of British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean with the railway system of Canada, and operating the same for ever.

The charter conferred, among other large powers, the right to construct branches along the entire length of the line, establishing lines of ships or steamers at its termini, and of constructing and working telegraph lines as well for public business as for the use of the Company.

On the 21st November, the position of the road, as stated by the Company, was as follows;—The eastern termini were the city of Ottawa and Brockville on the St. Lawrence. The line thence to Lake Nipissing, a total mileage of 290 miles, was acquired by purchase.

From Lake Nipissing, where the Canadian Pacific proper began, to Thunder Bay on Lake Superior, a distance of about 650 miles, the line was partly under construction, and it was expected that this whole section would be completed in five years.

From Thunder Bay to Winnipeg, a distance of about 425 miles, the line was under construction by the Government, and completion was expected by September, 1882.

From Winnipeg westward to the Rocky Mountains, a distance of about 800 miles, the line was completed for nearly 200 miles, and the remaining 600 it was hoped would be completed and in operation by the end of 1882.

From the foot of the Mountains to Kamloops, a distance, it was estimated, of about 450 miles, the line was being surveyed, with good prospects of a shorter and better location being found than by the way of Yellow Head Pass.

From Kamloops to Port Moody, a distance of about 220 miles, the line was under construction by the Government, and would be ready for operation by 1885.

In addition to the main line, there was a branch in operation from Winnipeg to Pembina, 65 miles, connecting at the international boundary line with the railway systems of the United States.

A recapitulation of these distances makes a total of 2900 miles, and this mileage included the following portions built or to be built by the Government, and conveyed by it absolutely to the Company, on the completion by the latter of its contract for building the remainder of the line:

Thunder Bay to Winnipeg	-	-	425 miles.
Kamloops to Port Moody	-	-	220 "
Pembina Branch	-	-	65 "
			<hr/>
			710 "

It was stated then that the entire Mountain section on the Canadian Pacific Railway embraced a distance of about 600 miles, whereas that of the Union Pacific covers a distance of

1250 miles, and at a much higher elevation. But, as shewn in another chapter, the actual length of the Mountain section of the Canadian Pacific proved to be only 522 miles.

Such was the position of the railway in November, 1881. In December, 1882, the following progress had been made:— The road from Montreal west to Callender, a distance of 347 miles, had been acquired. From Callender to Sturgeon River, the Company had built 40 miles, and construction was going on from there to Thunder Bay. The Government had completed the 435 miles between Thunder Bay and Winnipeg, and the road westward from the latter place as far as 94 miles beyond Swift Current, a distance of 606 miles, had been built by the Company. Thus matters stood with the main line, the section from Kamloops and Port Moody being pushed as rapidly as possible. In branch lines, the Company had acquired the following mileage in the Montreal division:—

St. Lin Branch	-	-	-	-	13 miles.
St. Jerome Branch	-	-	-	-	14 “
St. Eustache	“	-	-	-	8 “
Aylmer	“	-	-	-	9 “
Carleton Place to Brockville	-	-	-	-	46 “
Brockville to Perth	-	-	-	-	12 “
					—
					102 “

A branch line of 100 miles from Sturgeon River Falls to Algoma was building, and in the Manitoba division, 22 miles from Winnipeg to Stonewall had been acquired; 100 miles on the Pembina Mountain branch, and 13 miles on the Gretna branch had been built, and the 65 miles on the Pembina branch was being operated. In all, there were 1730 miles completed and equipped, main line and branches, and 1576

miles in course of construction. The equipment of the Company at that time consisted of 146 locomotives; 87 passenger cars: 27 baggage, express and mail cars: 6 sleeping and parlor cars: 6 business and other special cars: 1,003 box and stock freight cars: 3,449 platform cars: 73 conductors' vans; 9 tool, wrecking, and other auxiliary cars.

It will thus be seen that really wonderful progress had taken place in the work of construction and organization in a little over two years time. The earnings of the operated lines also shewed a healthy condition, the total amount from 1st January to 31st December, 1882, having been \$2 484,760.89, and those earnings represented revenue from actual traffic only, and not freight on construction or other material for the use of the company.

During this year the Canada North-West Land Company was formed for the purpose of buying a large quantity of land from the Railway Company. The original acreage purchased by the Land Company amounted to 5,000,000 acres, but it was found that this quantity was beyond their ability to handle successfully in the manner they proposed, and an arrangement was entered into with the directors of the Canadian Pacific by which the acreage of the purchase was reduced from 5,000,000 to 2,200,000 acres. The Canada North-West Company had paid for this land in full before the close of 1883, and commenced taking active steps toward disposing of it to settlers and others. Under the management of Mr. W. B. Scarth, who was one of the chief promoters of the company, an active system of advertising the advantages of the North-West was undertaken, and in this way another powerful factor in making known the capabilities of the country was introduced.

The disputes between the Dominion and British Columbia Governments were finally settled, and what was known as the "Settlement Act" was passed in 1883, by the British Columbia Legislature. In order to give our readers some idea of the terms of the settlement, we will quote from the preamble to the Act in question.

Whereas negotiations between the Governments of British Columbia have been recently pending relative to the Island Railway, the Graving Dock and the Railway Lands of the Province ;

And whereas such negotiations have resulted in an agreement between the two Governments to the effect hereinafter mentioned, that is to say :—

The Legislature of British Columbia shall amend the Act No 11, of 1889, intituled "An Act to authorize the grant of certain Public Lands on the Mainland of British Columbia to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for Canadian Pacific Railway purposes," so that the same extent of land on each side of the line of railway through British Columbia wherever finally settled, shall be granted to the Dominion Government in lieu of the lands conveyed by that Act.

The Government of British Columbia shall grant to the Government of Canada a portion of the lands set forth and described in the Act No. 15, of 1882, intituled "An Act to incorporate the Vancouver Land and Railway Company," namely that portion of the said lands therein described, commencing at the southern boundary thereof, and extending to a line running east and west half-way between Comox and Seymour Narrows ; and also a further portion of the lands conveyed by the said act, to the northward of and contiguous to that portion of the said lands last hereinbefore specified, equal in extent to the lands within the limits thereof, which may have been alienated from the Crown by Crown grants, pre-emptions or otherwise.

The Government of British Columbia shall convey to the Government of Canada three and one-half millions of acres of lands in the Peace River district of British Columbia, in one rectangular block east of the Rocky Mountains, and adjoining the North-West Territory of Canada.

The Government of British Columbia shall procure the incorporation by Act of their Legislature, of certain persons, to be designated by the Government of Canada, for the construction of the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo.

The Government of Canada agrees to secure the construction of a railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo within three and a-half years from the

date of the incorporation of the company, as before mentioned ; such construction to commence upon the passing of the act relating to the incorporation of the company.

The lands on Vancouver Island to be so conveyed shall, except as to coal and other minerals, and also except as to timber lands, as hereinafter mentioned, be open for four years from the passing of this act, to actual settlers for agricultural purposes, at the rate of one dollar an acre, to the extent of 160 acres, to each such actual settlers ; and in any grants to settlers the right to cut timber for railway purposes, and rights of way for the railway and stations and workshops shall be reserved.

The Government of Canada shall forthwith purchase, take over, complete, and shall, upon the completion thereof, operate as a Dominion work the Dry Dock at Esquimault ; and shall be entitled to and have conveyed to them all the lands, approaches and plant belonging thereto, together with the Imperial appropriations therefor, and shall forthwith pay to the Province as the price thereof the sum of \$250,000, and shall further pay to the Province whatever amounts shall have been expended by the Provincial Government, or which remain due up to the time of the passing of this act for work or material supplied by the Government of British Columbia since the 27th day of June, 1882.

The Government of Canada shall with all convenient speed offer for sale the lands within the railway belt upon the Mainland on liberal terms to actual settlers ; and

Shall give persons who have squatted on any of the said lands within the railway belt on the Mainland prior to the passing of this act, and who have made substantial improvements thereon, a prior right of purchasing the lands so improved at the rates charged to settlers generally.

This agreement is to be taken by the Province in full of all claims up to this date by the Province against the Dominion, in respect of delays in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and in respect of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway, and shall be taken by the Dominion Government in satisfaction of all claims for additional lands under the Terms of Union.

Mr. James J. Hill, by this time, had retired from the directorate of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, as he found that the affairs of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba required his whole attention. Mr. Donald A. Smith, however, joined the board of the Canadian road, and has remained a member of it from that day to this. The directors chosen at the close of 1883, were as follows :—Geo. Stephen, President ;

R. B. Angus, and W. C. Van Horne, Vice-Presidents, and Messrs. Donald A. Smith, John Turnbull, Pascoe du P. Grenfell, H. S. Northcote, C. D. Rose, Baron J. de Reinarch, R. V. Martinsen, and W. L. Scott, directors. Mr. John S. Kennedy, of New York, and Mr. Duncan McIntyre, both of whom were intimately connected with the company, and had rendered important services to it, decided to withdraw from the board for personal reasons of their own. The record of the company, so far as the progress of the railway was concerned, was a most satisfactory one. The line through the prairie section had been completed, the rails laid on the Government section from Port Moody eastward to Lytton, a distance of 144 miles, and the remainder of the section was nearly ready for the track. The Algoma branch of 96 miles, and the Selkirk branch of 22, were both completed, and it was proposed to lease the line of the Manitoba South-Western Railway, fifty-two miles of which were in operation.

Three Clyde-built steel steamships had been built at Glasgow, under the superintendence of Mr. Henry Beatty, whose steamboat experience was of invaluable service to the company, and these after steaming across the Atlantic were cut in two, in order to float them through the Lachine canal, and on being put together again, were handsomely fitted out ready to be placed on the lake route to Thunder Bay. It was then expected that the Ontario and Quebec Railway, which had been leased by the company, would soon be open for business, and, as the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company remarked in his annual report, "the opening of this important line, commanding as it will a large amount of traffic for the main system, together with the steamship connection before mentioned, will, undoubtedly, result in a large and immediate increase in the revenue of the company."

The traffic earnings, including a charge for transportation of construction materials, based on the actual cost of haulage, amounted, in 1883, to \$5,473,879.64, and the land sales, up to the 31st December of that year, totalled the large sum of \$6,667,000. The equipment had increased to the following:— 236 locomotive engines; 73 first-class passenger cars; 33 second-class passenger cars; 48 baggage and mail cars; 4,387 platform cars; 1,736 box cars; 126 cabooses, pay cars, etc; 6 derrick and coal cars; 17 snow ploughs.

The construction of the telegraph line was pushed ahead of the railway, and it was expected the wires would be in operation during 1884 from Montreal to beyond the summit of the Rockies.

The company had earned about half of its money subsidy, or \$12,289,211, and 13,755,705 acres of its land grant, of which 3,753,400 acres had been sold, thus leaving of the total grant 21,246,600 acres, as follows:—

Earned but unsold	-	-	-	10,002,305 acres.
Unearned	-	-	-	11,244,295 “
				<hr/>
				21,246,600 “

During the summer of 1884, Mr. W. C. Van Horne made a trip over the line to the Pacific coast, and gave his opinion as to the prospects of the railway, as follows:—“From the favorable character of the work, and the progress made, I think there will be no difficulty in completing the mountain section within a year from this date, and for four million dollars less than the estimates of last winter. Within the same time, the eastern section will also be completed, so that by September next (1885), a through railway connection between Montreal and the Pacific coast will be established. I am happy to state,

as one result of my trip, that my doubts about the value of the mountain section of the railway have been entirely removed. In addition to the agricultural possibilities of the many valleys of British Columbia and its great mineral wealth, its magnificent forests alone will furnish a large and remunerative traffic for the railway. From the mouth of the Kicking Horse River, forty-four miles west from the summit of the Rocky Mountains, to the Salmon Arm of the Shuswap Lakes, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, the line passes through a continuous belt of gigantic trees, which in crease in size going westward until they reach their maximum in Eagle Pass, where trees eight and even nine feet in diameter, measured seven feet above the ground, are common. The timber is mostly cedar, Douglas fir, hemlock, white pine, spruce and tamarac. Other varieties of more or less value also occur. All of the valleys near the line of the railway through the Gold Range and the Selkirk Mountains, seem to be filled with valuable timber, and I have no doubt that the supply is practically inexhaustible. About the Pacific terminus, there are also great forests of gigantic trees, even larger than those described, and the export trade in timber is already of considerable magnitude. There are many other sources of traffic and of wealth, the chief of them being the coals and the fisheries. The coals are the most valuable on the Pacific coast, and are largely mined for shipment to San Francisco and elsewhere. The richness of the fisheries is almost beyond belief.

“The magnificent harbors of British Columbia, its exceptionally favorable situation for commanding the trade of the North Pacific coast and of Japan and China, its abundant natural resources and matchless climate, must surely bring a

large and rapid increase in wealth and population immediately upon the completion of the railway."

In 1884 the rails were laid to a point near the summit of the Selkirks, forming a continuous rail connection from Montreal westward, for a distance of nearly 2,500 miles. On the Government section, between Port Moody and Savonna's Ferry, the rails were laid for a distance of 213 miles, and east of the latter place some 203 miles (the only remaining gap between Montreal and the Pacific Ocean), the work was well advanced to receive the iron. The Directors of the company, at the close of the year, confidently expected that the through line to the Pacific would be opened early in 1885.

At the close of 1884, the total assets of the company amounted to \$216,711,725.58, as follows:—

2,658 miles railway and appurtenances, including steamships and telegraph lines -	\$115,163,416.26
713 miles railway, built by Government, and given to company free, as part of subsidy	35,000,000.00
21,399,737 acres agricultural land valued at \$2 per acre - - - - -	42,799,474.00
Amount in hands of Government to pay 9 years' 3 per cent. dividend on capital stock of company - - - - -	\$14,288,288.87
Balance due on lands sold - - - - -	2,078,286.56
Land Grant Bonds in treasury - - - - -	728,500.00
Outside assets - - - - -	6,643,759.89
	<hr/>
	\$216,711,725.58

The liabilities amounted to \$106,914,306.00.

Capital stock - - - - -	\$65,000,000.00
Canada Central Bonds - - - - -	1,823,333.00

Quebec Province (due on account Q.M.

O. & O. Railway	-	-	-	\$ 3,500,000.00
Dominion Government Loan	-	-	-	26,007,512.00
Land Grant Bonds (outstanding)	-	-	-	3,688,000.00
Floating debt	-	-	-	6,895,461.00
				<hr/>
				\$106,914,306.00

Although \$4,702,684.00 had been spent during 1884, for rolling stock and terminal facilities, it was estimated that over five million dollars would have to be expended during 1885, in the same direction.

It will thus be seen that, not only was the financial condition of the company most satisfactory, but also that every effort was being made to improve the property and make it remunerative. Notwithstanding this, however, the persistent efforts of the enemies of the enterprise to destroy confidence in it, made it difficult for the directors to find the necessary capital to carry it on, and obliged them, as we have shewn in another chapter, to make repeated applications to the Government for aid.

The traffic earnings of 1884 showed a slight increase over 1883, being \$5,750,521.27, which, after deducting operating expenses, \$4,558,630.75, left a net sum of \$1,191,890.52.

At the close of 1884, the mileage of the company's system was as follows:—

Main line	-	-	-	-	-	2,894.7 miles
Branch lines	-	-	-	-	-	404.7 "
Leased lines	-	-	-	-	-	695.2 "
						<hr/>
						3,994.6 "

and the equipment:—

Locomotives - - - - -	304
Passenger cars of all descriptions - - -	282
Freight cars of all descriptions - - -	7380
Conductors' vans - - - - -	163
Snow ploughs, &c. - - - - -	37

In 1885, the \$15,000,000.00 first mortgage bonds of the company were sold by Messrs. Baring Bros. & Co., and we gather from the prospectus issued by them, in relation thereto, the following particulars: The earnings for the year were as follows:—

Passengers - - - - -	\$2,859,222.98
Freight - - - - -	4,881,865.58
Mails - - - - -	137,151.92
Express - - - - -	172,303.01
Parlor and sleeping cars - - -	73,523.55
Miscellaneous, telegraph, etc. - - -	244,426.08
	<hr/>
	\$ 8,368,493.12
Operating expenses - - - - -	5,143,276.45
	<hr/>
	\$ 3,225,216.67

showing a remarkable increase in earnings during the course of one year. The mileage of the company's lines had also increased to 4,337.8 miles.

At the close of 1885, the directors were able to congratulate the shareholders upon the completion of the line from Montreal to the Pacific. Elevators had been built at Montreal, Port Arthur, Fort William, and Owen Sound, capable of storing, altogether, over 2,600,000 bushels of grain, and the erection of others was contemplated. The line between Montreal and Toronto (*via* Ottawa) had been conducted under some

difficultly owing to its greater length as compared with the competing line but the extension of the Ontario and Quebec line from Smith's Falls to Montreal, then under construction, would overcome the disadvantage. The bridge over the St. Lawrence at Lachine, then building, would, when completed, greatly improve the eastern connections of the company with the Atlantic seaboard. The advantages of the Soo Line, even then contemplated, were foretold. The Manitoba South-Western Railway, which had become the property of the company, had been extended some 120 miles, and a branch of four miles to Buckingham on the Ottawa had been built.

In this year also an important change was made at the Pacific terminus of the line. The harbor at Port Moody was found to be altogether inadequate for the purposes of a seaport, and the topography of the surrounding lands was unfavorable for the laying out of a large city, except at great expense. The terminus of the railway was, therefore, fixed at the entrance to Burrard Inlet, and a grant of nine square miles having been obtained from the Government of British Columbia, it was surveyed and laid out as a city, which received the name of Vancouver. As soon as it was known that the terminus of the road had been changed from Port Moody, a number of people settled on the new site, and in a short time quite a boom in real estate was created there. A branch was also placed under construction from the main line near Port Moody to New Westminster, an important town on the mainland, owing to its proximity to the salmon fisheries on the Fraser River.

Independent lines, feeders of the Canadian Pacific, were also being operated and extended. The Manitoba North-western Railway had 130 miles in operation north of the main line,

and the Galt Railway, from Dunmore to the coal mines at Lethbridge, a distance of 110 miles, was also running. A short line of 20 miles from Regina northward to Long Lake, had been built, and other independent extensions were projected.

In the meantime, while the Canadian Pacific Railway was thus progressing satisfactorily, the company had entered into negotiations with the Imperial Government for the establishment of a first-class line of steamships between the Pacific terminus of the line and China and Japan. It was believed at the time that the many advantages to Imperial interests, and the sense of security that would be created by a thoroughly efficient and purely British alternative route to the East, would eventually lead to the acceptance of the company's proposals by the British Government. The directors were also looking to the establishment of an Australian service of steamers at an early day, and were considering how some improvement could be best effected in the Atlantic route. Arrangements were made with the Pacific Coast Steamship Company for a first-class line of boats to run between the Pacific terminus of the line and San Francisco, and thus every preparation was being made in advance for a large and lucrative traffic as soon as the through line was in operation.

The telegraph lines were not forgotten, and connections with the principal cities of the United States were secured, as well as cable connection with Europe. It was plain to be seen that the company's interests were in the hands of men possessed of deep forethought and extraordinary sagacity.

Several changes had taken place in the Board of Directors, Baron Reinach, of Paris, and Mr. John Turnbull, having retired; and, now that the contract with the Government had

been fulfilled, Messrs. P. du P. Grenfell and Charles D. Rose also retired.

In 1886, the directors of the company were Sir George Stephen, who had been created a baronet as a mark of honor for the distinguished services he had rendered in connection with the building of a great transcontinental railway through British Territory: W. C. Van Horne, Vice-President: Hon. Donald A. Smith, Messrs. R. B. Angus, Edmund B. Osler, Sandford Fleming, C.E., C.M.G., H. S. Northcote, R. V. Martinsen, Hon. W. L. Scott, Mr. George R. Harris, of Blacke Bros. & Co., of Boston, Hon. Levi Morton, and Mr. Richard R. Cross, of Morton, Bliss & Co., New York.

The year was an important one for the company, as the directors were able to announce that the obligations to the Dominion Government had been discharged in full. The \$29,880,912 loan had been repaid, and the \$8,896,000 land grant bonds held by the Government surrendered to the company and cancelled. On the 10th November, an agreement was entered into which provided for the acceptance of the work executed by the company, in accordance with the contracts, and for the transfer to and acceptance by the company of the portions of the roads constructed by the Government. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, in other words, had more than fulfilled all its promises to the Dominion, and had repaid all the money borrowed from it. The company had a well equipped system of 4,651 miles, a thoroughly efficient commercial telegraph system, and nearly 15,000,000 acres of selected agricultural lands, and it had also a cash deposit in the hands of the Dominion Government to pay the guaranteed dividend of three per cent. per annum on its entire capital stock until August, 1893.

During the latter part of 1886, seven cargoes of tea and other merchandise from China and Japan, arrived at Vancouver, the Canadian Pacific terminus, brought by sailing ships, the goods being consigned to cities in Canada and in the United States, thus indicating that a large and profitable trans Pacific trade would be realized as soon as suitable steamships were provided. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company therefore arranged for a temporary line of three steamships to run between Vancouver and Yokohama and Hong Kong, until the negotiations with the Imperial Government could be completed for regular liners to be placed on the route.

The bridge at Sault Ste. Marie was being built, which was destined to give the railway closer connection with the North-Western States, and a shorter through route to the Pacific than *via* north of Lake Superior. The bridge was being built jointly by the Duluth South Shore, the Minneapolis, Sault Ste. Marie and Atlantic, and Canadian Pacific Railway Companies, the latter owning a one-half share in the bridge. The company had also leased in perpetuity the Atlantic and North-Western Railway, which gave them a short connection with the Maritime Provinces and the Atlantic seaboard, thus securing virtually an all-rail route from ocean to ocean.

A connection was now made between the company's lines of telegraph and the Postal Telegraph Company, the Baltimore and Ohio Company, and the Commercial and French-Atlantic cables, thus giving Canada and the North-West through telegraphic communication with all parts of the United States and Europe.

The earnings for 1886 showed a remarkable increase, the total being \$10,081,803.59, which, after deducting operating charges of \$6,378,317.05, left a net sum of \$3,703,486.54. The

equipment of the line went on increasing, and at the close of the year stood as follows:—

Locomotives	-	-	-	-	-	-	372
Passenger cars	-	-	-	-	-	-	304
Sleepers	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
Parlor and official cars	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Freight cars	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,253
Conductors' vans	-	-	-	-	-	-	178
Boarding, tool, and auxiliary cars	-	-	-	-	-	-	71

The total mileage of the company's lines was now 4,668.2 miles.

In September, 1887, Mr. W. C. Van Horne, the Vice-President, after a careful inspection of the whole line, made a report, which, on the whole, was most satisfactory, but in regard to the steamship connections at the Pacific end of the road, he had this to say:—

"I beg to call the attention of the directors to the very unsatisfactory state of our steamship connections at the Pacific terminus. The service between Vancouver and Victoria is performed reasonably well, but the line to San Francisco is most inferior in character, is shunned by passengers, and is almost impracticable for freight. Our connection with Seattle, Tacoma, and other Puget Sound points, is made by means of small local boats not at all suited for the purpose. The Alaska trade, the passenger business especially, is increasing rapidly, and is already of much importance to the Canadian Pacific Railway, but the steamships plying in that direction do not touch at Vancouver, and we are not able to compete for the business on anything like rival lines. Notwithstanding its disadvantages in the way of steamship connections, the past

year's experience has demonstrated clearly the ability of the Canadian Pacific to compete successfully with any and all of the other trans-continental lines for San Francisco and Puget Sound trade; and when the present meagre population of British Columbia is compared with that of the Pacific Coast States to the south of us, and within our easy reach, the importance of suitable connections will at once be apparent." Mr. Van Horne realized the importance of the trade above indicated, which, as time goes on, will become more and more valuable to the Canadian Pacific road, and ever since the company has been giving serious attention to its development.

The agitation in regard to the "disallowance question," or the "monopoly clause" of the charter, next occupied the attention of the company, and the President, Sir George Stephen, put the railway side of the subject very forcibly in the following words:—"It was, therefore, on the part of the company, deemed to be absolutely necessary for the procuring of the requisite capital, to the safety of the capital proposed to be invested, and generally to the success of the enterprise, that the traffic of the territory to be developed by the railway, should be secured to it for a reasonable period; and the term of ten years from the time fixed for the completion of the railway was agreed upon. *Without this provision for protection, the necessary capital could not have been secured, and the railway could not have been made.*"

Sir George Stephen also pointed out that at one time it was thought that the section north of Lake Superior, which the company was obliged by the contract to build, could never be self-sustaining, and that it must depend for its support upon the through traffic to and from the great prairies be-



Hon. Thomas D. M. Daly, Q.C.



yond. He, moreover, showed very clearly that it was a political necessity that the detached Provinces should be connected and bound together by a railway, and that the older Provinces were to be heavily taxed for the building of it. Political reasons alone would not justify the burden, he said, but a vast territory was to be opened up, and the older Provinces looked to the extension of their trade and manufactures over the entire northern half of the continent to justify the expenditure. Their interests required protection, and the protection afforded to the company by the so-called monopoly clause protected them as well. The agitation against disallowance, however, continued, and the Government found themselves with a difficult problem in their hands to settle.

The war which the Grand Trunk Railway Company had waged against the Canadian Pacific ever since its inception as an incorporated company, had not, it appears, resulted altogether in favor of the former, and towards the close of 1887, an attempt was made by the shareholders of both companies to bring about greater harmony between them in working than then existed. The Grand Trunk had endeavored to monopolize the whole trade of Ontario and other parts against the Canadian Pacific, a course which entailed a very heavy expenditure upon the former. The result of the attempt to conciliate the two companies was the abandonment to a great extent of the hostile attitude of the Grand Trunk management toward the Canadian Pacific.

The close of 1887 showed the gross earnings of the railway still on the increase, the total for the year being \$11,606,412.80, and the operating expenses \$8,102,294.64, leaving a net balance of \$3,504,118.16. The equipment now stood at : Locomotives, 374 : passenger, sleeping, dining and official cars, 401 :

freight, and other cars, 9,567 ; and the mileage had increased to 4960.1 miles.

In this year, the first shipments of cattle from the ranches near the Mountains were successfully made to Eastern Canada and Great Britain. The Pacific terminus of the line, Vancouver, had become an important centre of trade, with a population of 7,000. The rails were laid on the Algoma branch from Algoma to Sault Ste. Marie, and the Minneapolis, Sault Ste. Marie and Atlantic Railway completed to St. Paul and Minneapolis. The Sault Ste. Marie bridge was also completed, as well as the bridge over the St. Lawrence. The extension of the Ontario and Quebec Railway to Montreal was put in operation ; a connection made with London, Ontario, and Wingham, and a line on the Credit Valley system to Guelph commenced.

An agreement was now reached between the Dominion Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, by which the latter agreed to relinquish the monopoly clause of its contract, concerning the construction of lines of railway running to the international boundary. The terms of this agreement were referred to in a previous chapter. This agreement removed the cause of the agitation in Manitoba, which had not only done harm to the company, but also retarded the settlement and progress of the whole North-West, and at the same time placed additional funds in the hands of the company for the improvement of the line, and for rolling stock, etc. It was estimated that of the \$15,000,000 secured through the agreement, about ten millions would be spent upon the improvement of the line, and over five millions in rolling stock.

On the 7th August, 1888, Sir George Stephen addressed the following letter to the shareholders of the company :—

•

From the time when I became a party to the contract with the Dominion Government for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and consented to accept the position of president of the company, it has always been my intention to relinquish the active chief control of the affairs of the company as soon as the task which I then undertook should be completed. This task was partially finished when the line was open for traffic, through to the Pacific Ocean, over two years ago ; but at that time, so much remained to be done towards the firm establishment of the enterprise, and its future development and success, that in deference to the wishes of my colleagues, I consented to continue, for a time, in office. Warned, now, by the state of my health, finding that the severe and constant strain which I have had to bear for the past eight years, has unfitted me for the continuous and arduous duties of an office in which vigor and activity are essential ; feeling the increasing necessity for practical railway experience, and believing that the present satisfactory and assured position of the company offers a favorable opportunity for taking the step I have so long had in contemplation, I have this day resigned the presidency of the company, which I have had the honor to hold since its organization.

In taking this step, it may not be out of place to say that my pecuniary interest in the enterprise remains undiminished, and that the welfare of the company is, and always must be to me, a matter of the deepest possible interest ; and that as a member of the Board of Directors, I will always be ready to aid and co-operate with my colleagues in everything calculated to protect and promote the interests of the shareholders.

In resigning the position of president of the company, it is to me a matter of the greatest possible satisfaction to be able to say, that in my successor, Mr. Van Horne, the company has a man of proved fitness for the office, in the prime of life, possessed of great energy, and rare ability, having a long and thoroughly practical railway experience, and, above all, an entire devotion to the interests of the company.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from congratulating the shareholders upon the arrangements recently completed by Sir Donald A. Smith and myself, which will have the effect of securing to the Canadian Pacific Railway the permanent friendship of the two new and important American lines, extending from Sault Ste. Marie to Minneapolis and St Paul on the one hand, and to Duluth on the other, and reaching a traffic, the importance of which it would be difficult to overestimate.

It is also a matter for congratulation, that arrangements have been practically settled with the Wabash Railway, for the permanent connection between the Detroit River and Chicago and the South-West ; and further, that the long-pending negotiations with the Imperial Government, for

the establishment of a first-class steamship line between Vancouver and Japan and China, have at last been concluded.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE STEPHEN.

Sir George Stephen's resignation as president was deeply regretted by his colleagues, and the fact that he did not intend to entirely sever his connection with the company was hailed with much satisfaction.

The Board of Directors, as elected for 1888, were as follows: Mr. W. C. Van Horne, President: Sir George Stephen, Sir Donald A. Smith, Messrs. Richard R. Angus, Edmund B. Osler, Sandford Fleming, R. V. Martinsen, Hon. W. L. Scott, Mr. George R. Harris, Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, Hon. Geo. A. Kirkpatrick, Mr. Richard J. Cross, Mr. Wilmot D. Matthews, Hon. Donald MacInnes, and Mr. Thomas Skinner. From a glance over the foregoing names, it will be observed that the Board had become more Canadian in character, only five being from outside the Dominion, and of these, only one from Great Britain—Mr. Thos. Skinner—who had been previously employed by the company, while arranging several of its financial transactions in England.

The results of the year's work were highly satisfactory, the gross earnings being \$13,195,535.60; operating expenses \$9,324,760.68, leaving a net balance of \$3,870,774.92, and when the fixed charges were deducted from this, it left a sum of \$326,423.92 as a surplus. The mileage had increased to 5,074.9 miles, and the equipment for this extent of road was shown to be—Locomotives, 408: passenger, sleeping, dining, and official cars, 434; freight and other cars, 11,308.

In his annual report, the President, Mr. W. C. Van Horne, thus referred to the proposed steamships to Japan and China:

"The company has obtained the authority of Parliament to issue debentures to cover the cost of steamships with especial reference to a service between Vancouver and China and Japan: but the Dominion Government being in negotiation with an independent company for a fast Atlantic steamship service, and a first-class service between Vancouver and Australia, your Directors are disposed to surrender the proposed Japan and China service to the same company, if favorable arrangements can be made; otherwise you will be asked to confer upon the board the necessary authority to carry out the contract with the Imperial Government, the terms of which have already been arranged, for a line of steamships between Vancouver and Yokohama and Hong Kong."

The year 1889 shewed the best results in point of earnings in the history of the railway, and the company were able to declare a supplementary dividend of one per cent.

The earnings amounted to	-	-	\$15,030,660.38
Operating expenses	-	-	9,024,601.04
			<hr/>
			\$ 6,006,059.34
Less fixed charges	-	-	3,779,132.94
			<hr/>
Surplus	-	-	\$ 2,226,926.40
Dividend one per cent	-	-	650,000.00
			<hr/>
			\$ 1,576,926.40
Surplus of 1888	-	-	326,423.92
			<hr/>
Total surplus carried forward	-	-	\$ 1,903,350.32

On the 3rd June, 1889, the Atlantic and North-West Railway (the company's leased line between Montreal and the

Maritime Provinces) was opened for traffic, and at the same time a through train service was established by way of Sault Ste. Marie to St. Paul and Minneapolis. During the year, the construction of the Souris branch in Manitoba was commenced, and the Manitoba South-Western completed to Carmen. The Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company extended its line to a point 150 miles north-westerly from Regina. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company afterwards leased this line, as well as the Calgary and Edmonton Railway. The control of the charter of the Columbia and Kootenay Railway Company, in British Columbia, was also secured, and an agreement entered into with the Provincial Government to connect the navigable waters of Kootenay Lake with those of the Columbia River, thus opening a line of steamboat and railway communication of more than 250 miles. A lease of the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway was then secured, which gave a branch line of 51 miles to the head of Okanagan Lake, in British Columbia.

Thus the company were either building, or securing by lease, feeders to their main line in every direction, and the good results were shewn in the ever-increasing earnings of the railway.

In July, 1889, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company entered into a contract with the Imperial Government, which provided for the establishment of a mail service between Vancouver and China and Japan. A subsidy of £60,000 sterling per annum was granted for this purpose by the Imperial Government, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company at once undertook the construction of three twin-screw steamships of the highest class, at the yard of the Naval Construction and Armaments Company, Limited, in Barrow-in-Furness.

The directors now resolved to pay dividends of 5 per cent. to their shareholders—3 per cent payable from the guaranty fund deposited with the Dominion Government, and 2 per cent. from surplus earnings. In their report submitted to the shareholders on 14th May, 1890, the Board concluded in the following words:—

“The directors, in conclusion, would remind the shareholders that it will be ten years on the 21st of October next, since the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was signed, and that the 1st of May, 1891, was the date fixed by the contract for the completion of the line through to the Pacific.

“Neither the Government nor any one of those who signed the contract on behalf of the company had at that time the remotest idea that through trains would be regularly running between Montreal and the Pacific coast by the month of June, 1886, five years before the date stipulated in the contract; and up to a much later time, but very few of even the best informed and most steadfast friends of the enterprise foresaw or believed that the year 1889 would see the company with over 5,000 miles of railway, earning, under anything but favorable circumstances, more than \$15,000,000, with profits exceeding \$6,000,000, having at the same time the highest possible reputation, based on the prompt discharge of all its obligations from the beginning, and having attained a financial standing hardly second to that of any railway company on this continent; and occupying, furthermore, the unique position of having made a reasonable return to its shareholders from the outset, and in having repaid, with interest, and long before it became due, every dollar borrowed from the Government.”

Certainly the position of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was one of which the directors might well be proud

In 1890, there was a still further increase in the earnings, the gross total being	-	-	-	-	-	\$16,552,528.98
Operating expenses	-	-	-	-	-	10,252,828.47
Net	-	-	-	-	-	<u>\$ 6,299,700.51</u>

This, after paying the fixed charges and a dividend of two per cent., left the total surplus to date, carried forward, at \$2,656,432.83. The equipment had steadily increased to the following :

Locomotives	-	-	-	-	-	484
Passenger, sleeping, parlor and dining cars	-	-	-	-	-	547
Freight and other cars	-	-	-	-	-	13,609

and the mileage was as follows :

Mileage included in C.P.R. traffic returns	-	-	-	-	5,564.2
Mileage of other lines worked	-	-	-	-	549.9
Mileage under construction, including Cal- gary and Edmonton, and Columbia and Kootenay Railways,	-	-	-	-	495.5
					<u>6,609.6</u>

During the year, in addition to other improvements on the line, there were no less than 213 timber bridges replaced by permanent masonry, or iron work, or solid embankments.

The line of the Ontario and Quebec was extended to Detroit, work on the Souris branch continued, the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway was built to Prince Albert, and the Calgary and Edmonton branch completed northward ninety-three miles. The Columbia and Kootenay

railway was finished, and work on the Mission branch in British Columbia was being carried on. The company also concluded a satisfactory agreement with the Dominion Government for an exchange of traffic with the Intercolonial Railway, which greatly facilitated its maritime business.

One of the three new steamships on the China and Japan route (the Empress Line), had completed its first trip from Hong-Kong to Vancouver, another was on its way from England to Hong-Kong, and the third was nearly ready for service.

The year 1891 was a most remarkable one in the history of the company in regard to earnings, the total having jumped from \$16,552,528.98 in 1890, to \$20,241,095.98 in 1891. The net earnings were \$8,009,659.87, which, after paying fixed charges, and a dividend of two per cent., left a balance of \$2,045,166.42, thus increasing the total surplus carried forward to \$4,701,599.25. The equipment was increased to 530 locomotives: 618 passenger, sleeping, and dining cars, etc., 14,728 freight and other cars, and the mileage to 6,679.9 miles. The elevator capacity at Fort William and Port Arthur was increased this year to 4,000,000 bushels, the Souris branch extended eighty-two miles, the Calgary and Edmonton line was in operation to the latter place: the Montreal and Ottawa Railway, from Vandreuil to Point Fortune on the west side of the Ottawa, was secured, and a lease of the Tobique Valley Railway from Perth Centre, on the New Brunswick Railway, to Plaster Rock, was agreed to.

In this year, Mr. T. G. Shaughnessy was elected Vice-president of the company, a well deserved honor, he having acted as Mr. (Sir W. C.) Van Horne's right-hand man in the management of the railway, from the very start.

In 1892, the gross earnings reached the sum of \$21,409,357.77, which, after deducting the operating expenses, \$12,989,004.21, left a net balance of \$8,420,347.56. The fiscal charges had been increased to \$5,102,018.09, and these having been paid, as well as the usual 2 per cent. supplementary dividend, left the total surplus carried forward at \$6,923,531.44.

The "Soo" line, or the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railway, shewed a large increase in earnings. The Souris branch was extended to the coal-fields at Estevan, 47 miles, making available an abundant supply of cheap fuel for Manitoba and Assiniboia. A line from Deloraine to Napinka, 18 miles, connecting the South-Western branch with the Souris branch, and another from Souris to Nesbitt, 18 miles, connecting the Glenboro' branch with the Souris branch, were completed. The Pipestone branch, for a distance of 31 miles, was also built, and 22 miles from the main line, near Renfrew, were completed to Egansville. The company during the year had leased the Montreal and Maskinonge Railway, running from St. Felix to St. Gabriel, and negotiations were being carried on for the lease and subsequent purchase of the Alberta Railway and the Coal Company's line from Dunmore to the coal mines at Lethbridge, 109 miles.

The work of improving the railway was being constantly carried on, and during 1892 no less than five hundred and fifty-one timber bridges were replaced with permanent work—masonry, iron or earth embankments.

It was now decided to reduce as soon as possible the number of directors to nine, and Sir George Stephen having been raised to the peerage, as Lord Mount Stephen, resolved to sever his connection with the Board. The announcement was made in the annual report in the following words:—

"The directors regret to announce that the Right Hon. Lord Mount Stephen, owing to his absence from Canada, finds himself unable to discharge the duties pertaining to the position of a director to his own satisfaction, and therefore declines reelection. This severance of his official connection with the company, will not, we are well assured, in any way lessen the deep interest which he has always taken in the company and everything connected with it calculated to promote its prosperity. Nor will it, we are equally well assured, make him less willing in the future, than he has been in the past, to aid and support your directors in all their efforts to advance the interests of the company."

The equipment had now risen to the following :—Locomotives, 569; Passenger cars, 546; sleeping and dining cars, 86; parlor and official cars, 28; freight and other cars, 15,007. The company had also three fine steel steamships, the *Alberta*, *Athabasca* and *Manitoba* on the lakes, and three of the very best class on the Pacific Ocean, in the China and Japan trade, namely, *Empress of China*, *Empress of Japan* and *Empress of India*.

In 1893, owing to unusually severe weather affecting the traffic of the line, the gross earnings were not quite so large as in 1892, the sum total being \$20,962,317.44, and for the same reason the operating expenses were somewhat heavier, being \$13,220,901.39, but notwithstanding this, after paying the fixed charges and two per cent. supplementary dividend, a surplus of \$337,681.70 was carried forward, making the total surplus to date, \$7,261,213.14. The equipment had been again increased, and stood at :—Locomotives, 578; passenger cars, etc., 691; freight and other cars, 15,324.

Five hundred and thirty-seven timber bridges were replaced

with permanent work, and other improvements made on the line. The directors were able to report, however, that the heavy expenditure for improvements was nearly at an end, and the line was in a first-class condition from end to end. The Alberta Railway, between Dunmore and Lethbridge, had been changed from a narrow gauge to the standard of the Canadian Pacific. Leases of the Naksup and Slocan, and Nicola Valley Railways in British Columbia, were effected, and surveys in the Crow's Nest Pass were made in order to protect the company's interests in that direction. The Board of Directors in this year were:—Mr. W. C. Van Horne, President; T. G. Shaughnessy, Vice-President; Sir Donald A. Smith, Richard B. Angus, Edmund B. Osler, Sandford Fleming, C.E., C.M.G., George Harris, Richard J. Cross, Wilmot D. Matthews, Senator McInnes, Lieut.-Governor Kirkpatrick, Thos. Skinner, General Samuel Thomas, and Mr. John W. Mackay. The Executive Committee of the road being:—Mr. W. C. Van Horne, Sir Donald A. Smith, K.C.M.G., Mr. T. G. Shaughnessy, Mr. Richard B. Angus.

It may now be interesting to note that during the ten years since 1884, the gross earnings of the railway amounted to the enormous sum of \$143,198,720.93, out of which operating expenses had been paid to the extent of \$91,235,950.79, and this large sum of money had been placed in circulation throughout the Dominion. This of itself was a vast benefit to the whole country, irrespective of the many other advantages conferred on Canada by the building of the national highway, viz., the opening up of new sections to settlement, the means of communication secured between all parts of the Dominion, the impulse given to Immigration, and the general development of resources. Previous to the building of the Canadian Pacific

Railway, Canada was almost unknown abroad, now she is recognized in all parts of the world as a country full of resources, inhabited by a people of boundless energy and enterprise.

In concluding this chapter, although reference has been made in it to the building of the telegraph line, incident to the construction of the railway, it will be appropriate to give a few particulars of what is to-day one of the greatest electric systems on this continent. Under the superintendence of Mr. Chas. R. Hosmer, the Manager, the line of telegraph not only kept pace with the building of the railway, but frequently outstripped it, until, in September, 1886, a service was offered to the public, which was as perfect and more extensive than the other systems in operation. The line had been extended to points in Eastern Canada, and connections made with the Postal Telegraph Company of the United States, and, *via* New York, with the Mackay-Bennett cables for Europe. During the following winter, a further line from Vancouver to San-Francisco, a distance of 1,200 miles, was completed, and the succeeding year the wires were connected with Halifax, Nova Scotia, thus giving a system of over 4,800 miles in length.

Special attention was paid to the character of the line, on account of the very long circuits it would be necessary to work, and the heavy wires used. The poles were of cedar, six to seven inches in diameter at the top, twenty-five to thirty feet in length, set five feet in the earth, and averaging over thirty-five to the mile. For the main circuit a No. 6 wire, having a low resistance and great tensile strength, was specially manufactured for the company, and porcelain insulators, which are found to be superior to glass, were used. During the first winter and spring, the wires were interrupted some-

what by snow-slides, but these troubles were afterwards obviated by the company increasing their railway snow-sheds, and burying the wires at the most exposed places. In some cases the wires run through the snow sheds, and at other points, poles, seventy to eighty feet in height, carry them over, allowing the snow to slide underneath them. In the building of the telegraph line, as well as the railway, the engineers had many a difficult problem to solve, never met before in any sphere of work: that they succeeded in a practical and satisfactory manner, the operations of both railway and telegraph bear daily testimony.

Short sections of telegraph were constructed from time to time, off the main line of railway, to such important towns in Canada as were deemed necessary to complete the system. The wires of the company were extended to Canso, Nova Scotia, where connection was made with the main Atlantic cables of the Commercial Cable Company. Connections were made with the Postal Telegraph Company in the United States, at Mattawankeag, Me., Richford, Vt., Morristown, N.Y., Buffalo, N.Y., and Detroit, Mich. A system of connecting telegraphs was also built, by the Pacific Postal Telegraph Company, extending from Vancouver, through Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, Me., and San Francisco to Los Angeles and San Diego, affording a new transcontinental telegraph outlet, not only between Canadian points, but between eastern points in the United States and the Pacific coast. This line of telegraph immediately challenged the attention of the world as offering independent means of communication between Europe and Vancouver, through British territory, and has made possible the carrying out of the Pacific cable between British Columbia and Australia, which was the principal question discussed recently at the Ottawa conference.

The Canadian Pacific telegraph now comprises about 8,000 miles of poles and 26,000 miles of wire. A connection with the Commercial Cable Company and the Postal Telegraph Company enables the most remote offices in the North-West Territory and British Columbia to have direct communication with all parts of the world. All this has been accomplished within a few years, previous to which time Canada had no telegraph line of her own across the continent, the wires being controlled by an American Company, the Western Union.

In the operating room of the Company at Montreal, the head office, can be seen telegrams passing to and fro between San Francisco and New York, Chicago, etc., and also messages going back and forth between San Francisco, Vancouver, B.C., and other Pacific coast points, and China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Batavia, etc. When a cable is laid under the Pacific Ocean, connecting Vancouver with Australia and other points in the East, as it is likely soon to be, the operating room in Montreal will witness the business of half a continent reversed, and set travelling in a direction in which old Father Time will be beaten in his own race at least over half a hemisphere, telegrams reaching Vancouver eight hours ahead of the time they left London. Truly, Mr. Charles R. Hosmer, who has been the manager of the company from the start, may look back with pride to the great enterprise which has grown to such grand proportions under his direction.

The Canadian Pacific Railway has been most fortunate in the selection of its executive officers. Sir W. C. Van Horne has had around him lieutenants of the highest ability in their several departments. First, in the person of Mr. T. G. Shaughnessy, now Vice-President, of whom we have already spoken; then in Mr. Charles Drinkwater, the secretary of the

company, whose faithfulness to the great confidence reposed in him shows the high integrity of the man. In Mr. I. G. Ogden, the present comptroller, the Canadian Pacific has had an officer whose services have not only been most valuable from the start, but through his remarkable skill as an accountant, the company can now boast of the simplest and most efficient system of accounts and records of finance enjoyed by any railway on the continent. In the organization and management of traffic, the tact and experience of Mr. Geo. Olds has had much to do with the splendid earnings which has been the record of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the commencement, and in Mr. D. McNicoll, the General Passenger agent, the company has had a man whose skill in all the various intricacies and manipulations necessary to protect its interests against rival roads, and to build up and sustain its business, has not only been invaluable, but remarkably successful.

Is it then a wonder, that with such a staff of brilliant executive officers, the Canadian Pacific stands to-day the greatest railway system on the continent, if not of the world.



## CHAPTER XV.

### THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

THE political crisis caused by the resignation of Honorable John Norquay, and the subsequent and sudden collapse of his successor's (Dr. Harrison) cabinet, had the effect of bearing the Honorable Thomas Greenway into office, on the crest of a tidal wave of popular opinion, that swept Manitoba from end to end. The people were practically unanimous in their determination to obtain a repeal of disallowance, and were prepared to follow any leader whom they considered trustworthy, to any length—even to secession from the Dominion, or a resort to arms—who would help them to remove the disabilities, the countenance of which they considered a menace to their liberties and a tyrannical usurpation of their rights and privileges, as freemen and citizens of a British Province.

The new Government was formed on the 13th January, 1888, and was composed of:—Honorable Thomas Greenway, Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration; Honorable Joseph Martin, Attorney-General and Railway Commissioner; Honorable James A. Smart, Commissioner of Public Works; Honorable Lyman M. Jones, Provincial Treasurer: Honorable James R. P. Prendergast, Provincial Secretary.

In the House, Mr. Hamilton, late Attorney-General, introduced a bill to amend the Election Act, providing that none but resident voters should be qualified to vote at elections for

the Legislature, which was passed without much opposition. The writs for the elections of the new Cabinet Ministers were issued, and the nominations were fixed for the 9th February, and elections for the 16th February. The House then adjourned to the 1st of March.

The policy of the new Government, as laid down in Honorable Thomas Greenway's address to his constituents, embraced the inauguration of a system of strict economy in the administration of affairs; the use of every proper and constitutional means to secure the completion of the Red River Valley railway, and the securing of railway extension to the south-western country, so that the benefits of competition in freight rates might be extended to all portions of the Province; the adoption of a vigorous immigration policy; a simplification of the municipal system; an increased development of the educational system, and an augmentation of the annual grant to education; a fair redistribution of constituencies; a new franchise act; the adoption of manhood suffrage, and a simplification of the methods of compiling voters' lists.

The elections resulted in the return, by acclamation, of Honorable Messrs. Greenway and Smart, and Messrs. Joseph, Martin and J. R. P. Prendergast were elected by handsome majorities. Other by-elections took place in Shoal Lake and North Dufferin, on the 10th March, resulting in the return of Hon. Lyman M. Jones, Provincial Treasurer, and Mr. R. P. Roblin, a strong Government supporter, who replaced Dr. Wilson, the late Minister of Public Works, in the Legislature. A circumstance, which caused considerable comment at this time, was the resignation and departure from the Province of Mr. C. E. Hamilton and Dr. D. H. Wilson, ex-members of the Norquay Government, who took up their residence in Minnesota and became subjects of the United States.

The House met on the 1st March, and Mr. Greenway moved that an adjournment be made until the 16th April, for the reason that the Government entertained hopes that in the interval the difficulties existing between the Federal and Provincial Governments, including the question of disallowance, might be arranged. He repudiated the suggestion made by Mr. Norquay that the Government contemplated compromising with Ottawa, or even submitting their policy to Sir John Macdonald's consideration, and declared their intention to insist upon the granting of Manitoba's demands in their entirety.

Immediately after the adjournment, Hon. Messrs. Greenway and Martin proceeded to Ottawa. It was subsequently announced that the conference was suggested by Sir John A. Macdonald, and that the delegates went to Ottawa at his invitation. There is no doubt that Mr. Greenway's hands were strengthened, in his negotiations for a settlement, by the action of the Conservatives of Manitoba, who, despairing of obtaining recognition of Provincial rights by conciliatory methods, held meetings and passed resolutions denouncing the policy of disallowance, and demanding its abolition. The Winnipeg Conservative Association passed the following, which is given as a sample of the resolutions which poured into Ottawa from all parts of Manitoba:—

Moved by Hon. Henry J. Clarke, seconded by Mr. F. Beverley Robertson, and unanimously resolved:—

That the Conservative Association of Winnipeg earnestly draws the attention of the Right Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier, and the Government of Canada, to the self-evident fact, that the time has passed when mere personal or political friendship, or party sentiment, can cover or smother the real state of public feeling in Manitoba and the North-West, in respect to the power (assumed or otherwise), exercised by the Governor-General-in-Council, of disallowing railway charters granted by the Legislature of the Province. We declare that we will not submit to

struggle any longer under the burden that is crushing the country to death ; we therefore demand the discontinuance of disallowance, and that this Province of Manitoba be placed in the same position in regard to railways, as are all the other Provinces forming the Dominion of Canada.

Resolved that the representatives of Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and British Columbia, in the Senate and Commons of Canada, be urgently requested to exercise every influence in their power to secure the discontinuance of disallowance.

Lieutenant-Governor Aikins visited the capital just at the critical period, and his counsel could not have failed to carry weight with the Cabinet of which he had been a valued member. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, too, were willing to forego the monopoly clause in their charter, for certain valuable considerations, so that, altogether, Mr. Greenway had his road paved for him, and had but to use his native tact and good sense to secure a victory where his predecessor had failed.

On the reassembling of the Legislature, Mr. Greenway had the pleasure of informing the House of the success of his negotiations with the Ottawa Government, resulting in the total abolition of disallowance with regard to Manitoba and the North-West Territories, through a new arrangement of terms with the Canadian Pacific Railway, the details of which will be found in another chapter.

A new distribution of seats was one of the most important measures of this session. The Act divided the Province into thirty-eight constituencies, an addition of three—Winnipeg being given three representatives instead of two. An election Act was also passed, granting manhood suffrage to all *bona fide* resident British subjects ; it provided for a system of voting by ballot, and disfranchised all officials and employés of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and all regular soldiers, registrars, sheriffs, county court clerks, and bailiffs, in

receipt of salaries or fees amounting to three hundred and fifty dollars or upward per annum, but excepting ministers of the Crown and members of the Dominion Local Parliament. Another measure of importance was an Act to amend the Red River Valley Railway Act, by which the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was empowered not only to build and operate a railway from Winnipeg to West Lynne, but also one from Winnipeg to Portage la Prairie, and such other lines as might be determined upon: also to provide for the completion of the Red River Valley and other roads by companies, and to provide for the Government aiding such companies. An Act authorizing the Government to borrow \$1,500,000 on the credit of the Province, on 40 year five per cent bonds, for the purpose of paying up shortages of revenue, completing the Red River Valley Railway, paying the short-date bonds, issued by the late Government, of \$150,000, and for other public purposes. An Act respecting the Public Printing, passed at this session, cancelled existing contracts, on the ground that they were illegally granted, and provided that future contracts for printing should be let by tender.

On the 11th May, within a month of the passage of the Act authorizing it, the \$1,500,000 loan was successfully floated in London.

One of the first acts of the new Government was the appointment of special auditors to examine and report upon the financial state of the Provincial Treasury. The auditor discovered several grave irregularities in the public accounts, and a carelessness in keeping them, which was astonishing. In the Treasurer's department it was found that, from the 1st of October, 1885, to the 1st of January, 1887, a period of fifteen months, not a single entry had been made in the cash book

and all the data the new Provincial Treasurer had to work upon to enter up the cash transactions to date, were the stubs of cheques found in the Deputy Treasurer's office. In the Provincial Auditor's office, the appropriation book, the most important one, as it should shew the disposition of every dollar expended, was found without an entry having been made for several months, and cheques and vouchers representing the expenditure of a quarter of a million dollars were found scattered in disorder about the floor, and on the benches and desks, liable to be lost or, in case of fire, destroyed. There was no bank-book available. It had been the custom to telephone to the bank for information regarding the balance, and, if any existed, to draw cheques against it, as required. The Greenway Government, on assuming office, found the Provincial bank account overdrawn by between \$2,000 or \$3,000, so to carry on the affairs of the country and protect their credit, they were obliged to arrange for temporary accommodation through an eastern financial institution—the Merchants' Bank, where the account was kept, having refused to accommodate them. The late administration had run short of funds, although they had just received over \$200,000 of Dominion subsidy. They borrowed \$100,000 from the Merchants' Bank, and immediately afterwards another \$100,000, and in addition to these loans, they had used court and other trust funds, making in all a liability of \$317,909.33, which the new administration would have to make good. The scandals unearthed in connection with the printing, public works, and other departments of the late Government, were startling, and revealed a condition of affairs which placed the members of the Norquay Cabinet and their officials in an unenviable light before the country. On the occasion of the exposure of the

long list of irregularities by Hon. L. M. Jones, in his budget speech, Hon. John Norquay was the only member of the old Government present—his former colleagues had all deserted him and left him, the most blameless of them all, to bear the odium of their ill-doings.

The situation called for retrenchment in all departments of the public service, and the new administration set themselves to cut down expenditure, and economise in every possible way.

The Greenway Government brought about a marked decrease in the cost of government, while the grants for public services, education, immigration, aid to agricultural societies, drainage, aid to municipalities, bridges and public works, were largely increased. Great reductions were made in the salaries of civil servants, and many of the officials were discharged, and their offices abolished. The estimates for 1889 aggregated \$523,223.43, which included \$98,550 for interest.

The Legislature was prorogued on 18th May, 1888, after a long session, the time of which was largely occupied in criticising and denouncing the conduct of affairs under the Norquay Government. There was practically no Opposition, and the new Government put through a great volume of legislation, chiefly amendments to existing laws, which they had advocated while in Opposition, and now hastened to alter to suit these convictions.

While the Legislature was in session, the Canadian Pacific Railway made a proposition to the Government to lease them the Emerson branch at \$50,000 per annum, if they would forego the completion of the Red River Valley road, but if they persisted in carrying out their policy in regard to the latter, Mr. Van Horne intimated that his company would not feel justified in building the Souris, or any other branch railway, into the

south-western country. Mr. Greenway declined the offer, on the ground that his Government desired the Red River Valley Railway as a competing line, and stated plainly that if the C.P.R. did not wish to avail themselves of the terms of the Railway Aid Act (which provided for assistance to new railways to the extent of \$7,500 per mile), that he had no doubt other railway corporations would gladly accept them, and build the branch lines so much required by the farmers of the west and south-west.

Lieut.-Governor Aikins' term of office having expired, the Honorable John Christian Schultz was appointed to replace him, and took the oath of office at Winnipeg on 2nd July, 1888.

The House was dissolved by proclamation on 18th June, and writs for the general elections, to take place on 11th July, were issued. The result was an unqualified victory for the Government; of the thirty-eight members returned, only five were Opposition. Mr. Norquay was elected by a majority of only two votes, and other oppositionists were returned by small majorities, clearly indicating that the weight of public sentiment strongly favored the new administration.

Immediately after the elections, Honorable Messrs. Greenway and Martin went to Chicago and New York to confer with the officials of the Northern Pacific Railway Company on the subject of the completion and operation of the Red River Valley Railway. The road was at this time fully graded and ironed, construction trains were running over it, and the work of ballasting, fencing, building stations, water tanks, etc., was being proceeded with.

Their negotiations were so far successful that, on 26th July, Messrs. T. F. Oakes, J. W. Kendrick, and James McNaught,

representing the Northern Pacific Railway Company, executed an agreement with Hon. Joseph Martin, Railway Commissioner, to organize "The Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company," and, under its charter, to construct a railway from Morris to Brandon, within one year from November 1st, 1888. The Government agreed to acquire the right of way and pay for the construction of a line from Winnipeg to Portage la Prairie, and to complete the Red River Valley line (except the ballasting and terminal tracks), and bridges over the Assiniboine at Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie, the work being done under the direction of the Company, who agreed to provide all money required for the completion of the Portage branch over and above the sum of \$400,000, which the Government agreed to expend on its construction. The company was to have power to mortgage the lines constructed to the extent of not more than \$16,000 per mile, the Government guaranteeing the interest on the same to the extent of \$6,400 per mile, at 5 per cent. per annum for 25 years. A further issue of bonds on the Morris-Brandon and Portage la Prairie branches was provided for, not to exceed \$500 per mile, for purposes of organization, preparing and printing bonds and coupons, and legal expenses in connection with such organization and preparation of bonds, etc., etc. The Government also agreed to convey to the company, on its completion, the Red River Valley road, and all the rolling-stock, viz: 2 locomotives, 30 box-cars, 28 flat cars, 8 hand cars, and 8 push cars, for \$720,000 in first mortgage bonds, at face value, payable in 25 years, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum. The company agreed not to sell or transfer any of the stock to the C.P.R., or the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company, and not to enter into any

pooling contract or agreement with any other company. The Government exempted the company from taxation for twenty years. The company agreed to allow other railways (except the C.P.R. and St. P. M. & M.), the right of way over their lines at reasonable rates. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was granted power to regulate and fix the charges and freight rates, and it was declared unlawful for the company to make any rate or charge not so provided for.

On the 29th August, W. P. Clough, second vice-president of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, addressed a letter to Hon. Thos. Greenway, in which he offered, on behalf of his company, to undertake the construction, operation and equipment of the Red River Valley Company (acting under the powers conferred by the Manitoba Central Railway Company's charter), upon terms similar to those proposed by the Northern Pacific, but with certain modifications, which may be briefly enumerated as follows: That upon the completion of the line from Winnipeg to Emerson, and connection of the same with the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, or the Duluth & Manitoba Railway, and the bridge at Winnipeg, the same should be leased to the company for a term of years, instead of being sold or given over to them, and the ownership of the road to be retained by the Government in perpetuity. The company to pay a yearly rental to the Government, equal to 5 per cent. interest upon the cost of the railway and bridge, and to keep the road and bridge in good condition during the continuance of the lease. The rolling stock to be taken at a valuation payable in the company's first mortgage bonds. The company undertook to construct branch lines to Brandon and Virden—being extensions of their Battineau and Cando branches—in lieu of the proposed Morris and Brandon branch

—for which they asked aid at the rate of \$5,000 instead of \$6,400 per mile, and to grant running powers over the said lines to all companies desiring the privilege on equitable conditions. They agreed that the freight rates over these lines, and to the head of Lake Superior, should never exceed those charged by other lines for a like distance. Thus, assuming the distance of any Canadian point on any of the railways covered by the proposed contract to be 450 miles from the terminal point on Lake Superior, the rate on freights between such terminal points should never exceed those in force for similar transportation to or from a point in Minnesota or Dakota, on the St. P. M. & M. system, also 450 miles distant from the lake. Mr. Clough's letter says:—"As the road is to be built from the public treasury, whether the N. P. R. or the St. P. M. & M. R'y. is dealt with, it is confidently assumed that your Government will prefer to retain the ownership of the property and hold it in perpetuity, as another public highway." Regarding the equipment and operation of the line when finished, Mr. Clough contended that as it naturally fell in with his company's system, and could be operated by them more cheaply, conveniently and advantageously to the public than by any other existing railway company, the Government would preferably arrange with the company possessing the greatest facilities for equipping and operating it. If, however, the Government preferred to sell the line outright, then Mr. Clough's company were willing to enter into fair and equitable terms for its purchase. The company waived the item of \$500 per mile, mentioned in the Northern Pacific's agreement, as an addition to the actual cost of construction, to cover costs of organization, etc. With reference to the Portage La Prairie branch, if the traffic of the Manitoba and North-Western Railway

could be secured for it, the company would undertake to operate the branch upon the basis of repaying to the Government a rental of forty per cent. of the gross receipts, or upon the basis of a fixed rental of three per cent. per annum upon the actual cost of the property.

A special session of the Legislature was called for 30th August, to consider the Northern Pacific Railway Company's offer. Attorney-General Martin introduced a bill to incorporate the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company, drafted in line with the terms of the agreement offered by Messrs. Oakes, Kendrick and McNaught. Hon. Mr. Greenway explained the position taken by the Government with regard to the Red River Valley Railway. It had been said that in handing over the road to a corporation, the Government were departing from the principle they had enunciated in earlier days, and that the question of thus disposing of the railway had not been brought prominently before the electors during the general elections. He took the position that it was not desirable for the Government to undertake running lines of railway, and said that "He had pledged the people on almost every hustings, that one of the first things the Government would do, would be to get rid of the Red River Valley Railway the moment they could secure competition, and thus, by getting rid of this liability, be in a position to offer other districts the advantages of competition. It would be remembered how, when the C. P. R. contract was under discussion, the Grits got up what some said was a bluff offer. He learned from the press that this Government was to receive an offer. They were glad to receive all offers likely to afford relief. This offer emanated from a source that said a few weeks ago, they did not want to come into the Province. One reason why

they did not desire it was, that they were taking 12½ per cent. on all east-bound freight to Port Arthur to keep them out; this had amounted in one year, he had been told on good authority, to \$400,000. The offer which was ostensibly from the St. P. M. and M., was really from the C. P. R. This Government did not intend to introduce measures, and then, when they found they could not put them through, back down. They would stand by the N. P. Railway contract, as submitted to the House."

When the bill reached its second reading, its provisions were severely criticised by the Opposition, and by five of the Government members, who argued that the bargain was not the most favorable to be desired in the interests of the Province. It was urged that the Red River Valley should be maintained by the Government as a railway highway, open to all companies who desired to use it, and thus forever prevent collusion in the matter of discriminating rates. The Government were accused of rushing blindly into the first arrangement that had offered, instead of calmly considering the offers of the different companies, and choosing the most advantageous. They should test the sincerity of the St. P. M. and M.'s offer before dismissing it with contempt. A great objection to the contract was the uncertainty of the annual cost to this Province: this was estimated at \$84,000, but it might be much more, as the Province would hold in security what were called first mortgage bonds, but which in reality were income bonds, upon which the interest would only be paid after the expenses of the road had been deducted from the earnings. It was generally understood that the St. P. M. and M. Railway Company had been in correspondence with the Government, and that they had submitted a definite offer, and asked for consideration

of their proposals; but the Government declined to submit this important correspondence to the House, assuming the responsibility of dismissing the St. P. M. and M. offer, without giving the people's representatives an opportunity of judging the two offers on their merits. The St. P. M. and M. had five branches extending nearly to the Provincial boundary, and it was contended that a further extension of their system could better serve the country than the Northern Pacific, with a single track connection with the south and east. Hon. Mr. Norquay moved: "That the second reading of this bill be not now proceeded with, but that the Government be requested to lay on the Table of the House the offer of W. P. Clough, Vice-President of the St. P. M. and M.; and that this House, before committing itself irrevocably to the contract between the Government and the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company, now under consideration, take into consideration the offers of the St. P. M. and M., as presented by the said W. P. Clough." But, notwithstanding the objections raised by the Opposition, and some of the more cautious of the members on the Government side, the bill was rushed through the House, passing its second reading on a division which was reached at three o'clock in the morning, on an amendment to the amendment, proposed by Mr. Wood, member for Cypress: "That this House, being impressed with the belief and conviction that the fullest information on the subject of all correspondence of any and all efforts on the part of the Government, as well as the applications or offers of any parties intending or offering to compete for the traffic of the Province of Manitoba, should be submitted and fully discussed, whether the same have emanated from the Northern Pacific Railway, the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, or any other corporation." The amendment was negatived by 27 to 10.

Although the session was a brief one, and the bulk of the time was devoted to the discussion of the Northern Pacific contract, some important legislation was enacted. An amendment to the School Act reduced the general municipal tax for the purposes of each school from \$15 to \$10, and the Municipal Act was improved in certain important particulars.

In the excitement attending the relief from disallowance, and the subsequent negotiations for a competing line to the south, the Hudson's Bay Railway was, for the moment, forgotten by the general public, but its promoters, and those who looked upon it as an essential to the prosperity of the North-West, the only railway that could possibly reduce the cost of transportation to the seaboard—kept Mr. Greenway and his colleagues reminded of their friendly promises and assurances of assistance. Shortly after his assumption of office, Hon. Mr. Greenway furnished Mr. Hugh Sutherland, President of the Hudson's Bay Railway Company, with the following letter:—

WINNIPEG, March 29th, 1888.

*To whom it may concern :*

The bearer, Mr. Hugh Sutherland, President of the Hudson's Bay Railway Company, visits New York on business connected with his company.

I feel warranted in stating that the building of a railway to Hudson's Bay is of paramount importance to the people of North-West Canada, and, as an expression of their confidence in the soundness of the undertaking, the Legislature of Manitoba unanimously passed an act guaranteeing interest for twenty-five years on \$4,500,000 of the bonds of the company, to aid in the construction of the railway.

Mr. Sutherland is well known here, in connection with this great enterprise, as a gentleman of integrity and ability.

(Signed), THOMAS GREENWAY,

*Premier of Manitoba.*

Armed with this letter, and a copy of the Guarantee Act, Mr. Sutherland succeeded in interesting Messrs. James Ross

and Andrew Onderdonk, two prominent railway contractors, in his scheme, and they, in turn, made arrangements with British capitalists to supply the capital required for a railway to Hudson's Bay. In July following, Mr. Onderdonk visited Winnipeg to complete arrangements with the Government, and was informed that they could not deal with the matter before the approaching session of the Legislature. This was supplemented a little later by the announcement that the Government were prepared to deal with the question when they were furnished with satisfactory proof that such financial arrangements had been made as would enable the company to complete the road. But even while the negotiations were in progress the Government were contemplating a change of policy, and when Mr. Ross arrived in Winnipeg, after completing all his financial arrangements in Great Britain, to announce his readiness to undertake the immediate construction of the road, he was met with the crushing statement that the Government were considering a recommendation to the Legislature to reduce the guarantee from \$4,500,000, to \$2,500,000, and further, that the Government now declined to give the \$35,000 voted for the completion of the first forty miles. The Government justified their change of policy from the facts that the C.P.R. monopoly had been abolished: the Province had secured a competing outlet to the south, and the Hudson's Bay Railway was no longer of primary importance: the liability entailed by the Province in connection with the Guarantee Act, amounted to \$180,000 annually, and as a bargain had lately been made with the Northern Pacific, creating an annual expenditure of over \$80,000, it was not deemed expedient to assume a further liability. The guarantee of \$2,500,000, now proposed, would call for \$100,000 per annum in interest,



Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, B.C.L., Q.C.



which, added to the Northern Pacific loans, made up the original amount, \$180,000, intended for the securing of an independent railway outlet. While appreciating the benefit to be derived by Manitoba, the Government considered that the North-West Territories would profit to a much greater extent from a railway to Hudson's Bay, and recommended the company to look for aid from the Dominion Government through the advocacy of their scheme by the Territorial Assembly; they further excused their change of front on the ground of past experience, and alleged the repeated failures of the company to carry out their promises with regard to constructing the road.

This radical change of policy was a severe blow to the Hudson's Bay Railway Company. It not only destroyed the financial arrangements which they had succeeded in perfecting in Europe, but also deprived them of the hope of obtaining further aid from the Dominion Government; for the latter, observing the want of faith in the road evinced by the Provincial Government, made the fact an excuse for declining to entertain the company's application for assistance. Messrs. Ross and Onderdonk, however, were not willing to abandon their project without an effort, and on 26th September, they made an offer to Hon. Joseph Martin to accept the reduced guarantee of \$2,500,000, provided the Government would transfer to them the contract entered into with the Northern Pacific, that is to say, they would undertake the completion of the Red River Valley Railway, the Brandon and Portage la Prairie branches, and the Hudson's Bay Railway, and grant running powers over the system to every railway company without exception, if the Government would place them in the position of the Northern Pacific, as they considered the en-

trance of that road into Manitoba should not cost the Province a dollar, and that the \$2,000,000 upon which interest had been guaranteed to them might have been saved, or expended to better advantage.

The Legislature was adjourned, after the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Act had passed the third reading, till 16th October, and on that date the House was prorogued, without having transacted any further business.

During the discussion of the Northern Pacific contract in the House, the *Free Press* (up to that time a warm supporter of Mr. Greenway and his policy) and the *Call* newspapers not only denounced the Government's action in regard to the railway arrangements, but accused the Premier and Attorney-General of having made a corrupt bargain with the Northern Pacific people, and of having demanded a sum of money from the promoters of the Manitoba Central Railway, in return for proposed legislation in behalf of the company. These charges were reiterated from day to day, and, at the Assizes, which sat in November, 1883, bills of indictment for criminal libel were preferred against W. F. Luxton, editor-in-chief of the *Free Press*, and Acton Burrows, editor of the *Call*. These indictments were thrown out by the grand jury, and the papers continued their campaign against the Government with renewed vigor.

Shortly after the prorogation, a difficulty arose between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company with regard to railway crossings. The General Railway Act, 51 Vic., Cap. 29, provides that, "No company shall cross, intersect, join or unite its railway with any other railway, without application to the railway committee for approval of the place and mode of crossing, intersection, junction or union pro-

posed," and, also, that "The railway committee shall have power to hear and determine any application, complaint or dispute respecting the crossing of the tracks of one company by the tracks of another company," and to summon witnesses, and obtain the assistance of experts, and with power to submit a case to the Supreme Court in certain cases. The tracks of the Portage la Prairie and Brandon branches of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway crossed the Canadian Pacific tracks at three points, and when the working gang attempted to lay the track on the Portage extension, near Winnipeg—at what was at that time named "Fort Whyte"—the C.P.R. officials warned them to desist, and threatened to use force, if they persisted in committing what they alleged was an unlawful act. Attorney-General Martin, who was also Railway Commissioner, and a vice-president of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company, resented the actions of the Canadian Pacific, and in his capacity of Railway Commissioner, actively employed in constructing the Portage branch, ordered his men to continue their work, while, in his capacity of Attorney-General, he enlisted the services of a large number of special constables to enforce his views of railway building. He had made an application to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, for the appointment of a place and mode of crossing the south-western branch of the C.P.R., but he did not appear to set much store upon their decision, as he persisted in attempting to cross the C.P.R. track after the committee had decided that the case should go to the Supreme Court.

The C.P.R. applied for and were granted injunctions restraining the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company and Railway Commissioner Martin from attempting to

effect crossings, pending the decision of the Supreme Court. Mr. Martin chafed under the restraint put upon him by the Provincial courts. He declared his intention of appealing to the Imperial Privy Council against the Dominion Railway Act, and, if not successful, to sue for separation from Confederation, and to ask that Manitoba be made an independent Crown colony. He said, in an interview published in the *Winnipeg Sun* :—"The statute of 1883 (The General Railway Act), on which reliance is now placed, has, of course, been well known to me through all this agitation. It has often been discussed, but I have never been of the opinion that after the settlement of monopoly, any attempt would be made to prevent this Province constructing railways, by means of this statute." This opinion may have seemed to him a justification of a course which might easily have led to bloodshed, but he certainly assumed a grave responsibility in setting the law at defiance. The case submitted to the Supreme Court was, in brief : "Had the Province of Manitoba power to grant a charter to a railway company to construct a railway, or could the Province build a railway, which would cross the C.P.R. track, the permission of the railway committee of the Privy Council having been first applied for and obtained?" The Supreme Court answered the question in the affirmative, and the troublesome controversy was ended.

While the "crossings case" was before the Supreme Court, the Legislature met, on the 8th November, and the Speech from the Throne was mainly devoted to a recital of the Government's grievance with regard to the railway situation. It was intimated that the House might be asked to petition the Queen for the purpose of having the position of the Province in its relation to the Dominion clearly defined.

At the opening of the session, Hon. Mr. Greenway called the attention of the House to certain accusations which had been made against Mr. Martin and himself by the *Free Press* and *Call* newspapers, and moved for the appointment of a Royal commission to investigate the charges. One of the charges was that Hon. Thomas Greenway had agreed with Mr. Joseph B. MacArthur, on behalf of the promoters of the Manitoba Central Railway Company, to pass certain legislation in favor of, and to make certain arrangements with, the company, in consideration of the promoters of the company advancing to him the sum of \$12,500 for election purposes. The other charge was that the Government, and particularly Messrs. Greenway and Martin, accepted a bribe from the promoters of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company, in return for their assenting to a contract, and that the Government secured the support of members of the Legislature by means of bribery. The commission was issued to Mr. Justice Killam, and at his first and subsequent sittings, counsel for the newspapers claimed that the charges, as set forth in the commission, were not those published, and declined to produce evidence in support of their charges unless the commission was amended. The Commissioner stated that he could not go behind the commission, and, as counsel declined to go into the case for the newspapers, in the form stated in the commission, he reported that no evidence in proof of the charges mentioned had been obtained by him, and that the charges had not been proved.

In the Legislature, a resolution defining the position of the Province in regard to the railway difficulty was adopted after a debate, during which Mr. Norquay pointed out that if proper means had been adopted in the first place, a crossing

might have been effected without the trouble and expense which the attempt to evade the law had entailed. Some amendments to existing acts having been passed, the House adjourned on the 15th November, to reassemble on the 31st January, 1889.

An announcement of great importance to the Province was made to the Legislature when they reassembled. The Government had perfected a new arrangement with the Northern Pacific Railway Company, which, although it called for an immediate increase in annual expenditure, effected an immense saving to the Province. The guarantee of \$6,400 per mile of the entire system, as well as the \$500 per mile for organisation and other purposes, was altered to a cash bonus of \$1,750 per mile, and other important items were reduced, so that, instead of an annual liability of \$104,640, there would be one of only \$31,650—a saving of \$73,000 per annum. Under the new arrangement, the complete liability of the Province was reduced to \$633,000, instead of \$1,500,000 under the original agreement. The company agreed to construct a line of railway from a point on the Morris-Branch, south-westerly to or near the boundary line between Manitoba and Assiniboia. Fifty miles to be completed during the year 1889, and the remainder during 1890. The Government also announced that the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Company had agreed to a maximum rate per 100 pounds on grain and produce from provincial points on their system to Duluth and other eastern points, viz., car load lots from Winnipeg and intermediate points, and from a point on the Morris-Brandon branch, 65 miles from Pembina, and intermediate points, to Duluth, should not be higher than 21 cents per 100 pounds; from Portage la Prairie and intermediate points to Duluth, 21 cents

per 100 pounds; and from Brandon and intermediate points to Duluth, 22 cents per 100 pounds; and that the rates on general freight should not be higher from the points named than the rates charged by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company between Emerson, Morris, and other points near the international boundary and Port Arthur, and other eastern points. Nothing was stipulated with regard to freight coming into the Province.

Hon. Mr. Norquay, and other members of the Opposition, arraigned the Government for not having arrived at the arrangement now offered when the original contract was consummated five months before, and offered an amendment, that the provision excluding certain railways from obtaining running powers over the Red River Valley Company, embodied in the original agreement, be eliminated from the bill under discussion. The amendment was negatived by a vote of 29 to 3: Messrs. Norquay, Gillies and Marion forming the minority.

The act granting aid to the Hudson's Bay Railway Company, by guaranteeing interest on their bonds not exceeding \$4,500,000, was repealed, and a resolution substituted, providing for the granting of a cash bonus of \$2,000 per mile for 300 miles of the road within the limits of the Province. Such aid to be paid upon completion and operation, or in instalments as the construction progressed, and on the company's satisfying the Legislature of their ability to complete and operate the railway. But before the granting of such aid, the company was to secure the repayment of the principal and interest of the bonds issued to them for the forty miles of road already built. The resolution provided that the offer should be open for acceptance until the next regular session, and in case it was accepted in the interval, a special session should be

called to consider any contract that might be acceptable to the Government and the company. The debate on this resolution occupied two days, and it was finally carried by 22 to 5.

Several measures of importance were passed at this session. The Real Property (Torrens) Act: the Insane Asylums Act; to provide for incorporation of cheese and butter manufacturing companies; respecting drainage: establishing a deaf and dumb institution: respecting the treasury department and auditing of accounts; respecting a reformatory for boys; and amendments to the municipal, school, Court of Queen's Bench, and other acts. The Immigration work, undertaken in 1888, had been fairly successful, and the reports were so encouraging that the Government appropriated \$12,000 for the service for 1889. The estimates for 1889 aggregated, revenue, \$1,933,-458.68; expenditure, \$1,618, 756.01: the increase of revenue, being the result of the floating of the Provincial loan authorized in 1888.

Towards the close of the session the failure of the Royal commission to clear up the charges against the Premier and the Attorney-General was discussed at length. Hon. Mr. Norquay moved for a new commission with enlarged powers of investigation. Mr. Sifton, on behalf of the Government, moved an amendment to the effect that, as the newspaper publishers had failed to present their case against the Ministers before the Commissioner, they had virtually admitted their inability to substantiate the charges, and that no necessity existed for a further enquiry, or for the accused ministers to voluntarily offer themselves as witnesses before a commission. Mr. Fisher moved an amendment to the amendment, asking that a commission be granted with full power to investigate

and report upon all the matters alleged in such charges as fully as they could be inquired into before a court of justice. Mr. Fisher's resolution was ruled out of order by the Speaker, and the original motion (Mr. Norquay's) was defeated by 29 to 7.

Hon. Lyman M. Jones resigned his portfolio of Provincial Treasurer on the 7th of May, 1889, and Lieut.-Colonel D. H. McMillan, member for Centre Winnipeg, was sworn in in his place. Mr. McMillan was a distinct addition of strength to the Cabinet, as he was universally esteemed by the electors, aside from all partizan feeling. He was re-elected by acclamation, a compliment to his personal popularity.

On the 18th May, Honorable Andrew G. B. Bannatyne, so long and intimately connected with the political, commercial, and social life of Manitoba, died at St. Paul, Minnesota, *en route* to Winnipeg from Florida, where he had spent the winter. His death caused general regret, as he was a favorite with all classes, and filled a prominent place in their affections. The funeral wreaths which decked the tomb of Manitoba's pioneer merchant were scarcely wilted, when the Province was again plunged into grief over the demise of her favorite public man—John Norquay—the talented native statesman, whose brilliant and useful career as a member and leader was suddenly cut short by a fatal attack of appendicitis, on the 5th of July, at the age of forty-five years. The sorrow caused by his death was universal and heart-felt, and every mark of honor and respect was bestowed upon his memory. A state funeral, attended by the representatives of every profession and calling: resolutions of condolence from public and social bodies; elegant tributes from the pulpit and platform; and eulogistic articles in the press, all testified to the merits of

the deceased, and the esteem and respect in which he was held. His thread of life was snapped at a time when his understanding of political, and his grasp of public, affairs had been broadened through the bitter experience of unmerited defeat, and, had he lived, his talents fully matured, would surely have secured to him a new lease of useful and honorable leadership.

Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, M.P., visited Manitoba in August, 1889, and was tendered a reception at Portage la Prairie by the members of the Loyal Orange Association of central Manitoba. Mr. McCarthy addressed a meeting, giving a history of the Jesuit Estates Act, from his point of view, denouncing the Separate School systems in vogue in Ontario and Manitoba; the use of the French language in the Legislature and courts of Manitoba, and urged his hearers to unite in demanding the abolition of French as an official language, and of Separate Schools. Attorney-General Martin, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. McCarthy, expressed himself in hearty accord with the views of the visiting orator, and declared that he had no more disagreeable duty to perform as a Minister of the Crown than that of signing warrants and vouchers for public documents and statutes printed in the French language. He would cease soon to be a Minister or cease soon to sign those vouchers. As a Protestant and a citizen he was sorry to know that each year much larger sums were paid to support Roman Catholic schools (under the existing law), in proportion to their number, than to Protestant schools. But it was not the proper thing to have two kinds of schools. A great argument in favor of Separate Schools was the pertinacity with which the Protestant element had insisted upon the teaching of religion in the schools. The Roman Catholic citizen was perfectly

justified in saying, "I will not send my children to a school where they are taught religion by a Protestant, and according to Protestant ideas." To abolish the iniquity, education must be simply education, and religion must be for the family and for the church. As to Separate Schools, if the Constitution was against their abolition, public opinion was against their maintenance, and it was not impossible to obtain Imperial legislation to amend the Constitution in accordance with justice and with the views of those assembled.

This meeting was the key-note of the agitation which followed, and which resulted in the abolition of the French language in the courts and Legislature, and the enactment of a new school law which wiped the Catholic schools, as state-aided institutions, out of existence, and established a system of education satisfactory to a majority, but obnoxious to the Catholic minority. About the same time, Hon. James A. Smart, Minister of Public Works, announced at a public meeting, held at Clearwater, that it was the intention of the Government to do away with the dual system of education, and create a department of education, with a Minister who would be responsible to the people for the administration of school moneys. At the fourteenth annual convention of the Manitoba Teachers' Association, held at Winnipeg on 29th August, 1889, the President, Mr. J. B. Somerset, Protestant Superintendent of Education, took occasion, in the course of his annual address, to deprecate the newly announced Government school policy. "In the United States," said Mr. Somerset, "the nation insists on the schools of the people training the youth to be intelligent and moral citizens, leaving distinctly religious or dogmatic teaching to the family and the church. I acknowledge that this is my ideal of the function of public schools. I profess

that I am unable to see, with our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, that dogmatic religious teachings should be an essential part of a school programme. I profess my willingness to send my children for moral and mental training to a school attended by any and every religious denomination, conducted on the American model, without the slightest misgiving. But, on the other hand, am I in a position to say that my Roman Catholic fellow-citizens may not conscientiously view this in a different light. And if I acknowledge that he may, am I justified, if I am able, to declare his convictions mere prejudice, and force him into the kind of school of my choice, or leave him to establish a school after his own mind, at his own cost, while compelling him to support the school he objects to?" The convention adopted resolutions adverse to the transfer of the school management from the superintendent and board of education to a Minister of the Crown, and deprecating the proposal to secularise the schools.

In consequence of the adoption of the new policy regarding education and the French language, Honorable J. E. P. Pendergast, Provincial Secretary, and the only French-Canadian in the Cabinet, tendered his resignation, and his portfolio was accepted by Mr. Daniel McLean, member for Dennis, who was sworn in on 10th September, 1889, and elected by acclamation when re-nominated for his constituency.

Another notable death occurred on 13th September, 1889, when Henry J. Clarke, Q.C., the first premier and Attorney-General of Manitoba, died suddenly on a Canadian Pacific Railway train near Medicine Hat. Shortly after the defeat of his Government, in 1874, Mr. Clarke went to California on account of ill health. At St. Paul he was made the victim of two murderous assaults by the Fenians of that city, led by

Michael Hoy and Owen Keegan, whom he had prosecuted in connection with the attempted kidnapping of "Lord" Gordon in 1873. His skull was fractured in two places, necessitating a trepanning operation, and on the following day, while being assisted from a carriage to the train, Mike Hoy struck him senseless with steel knuckles, and a mob of Fenians kicked and jumped on him, breaking several ribs, and inflicting other internal injuries, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. Mr Clarke returned to Manitoba in 1877, and practised his profession till the time of his death.

Following the example of his distinguished predecessors, Lord Stanley of Preston, Governor-General of the Dominion, visited the North-West in 1889. The vice-regal party, consisting of His Excellency and Lady Stanley, Lady Alice Stanley, Honorable Edward Stanley, Honorable Captain and Mrs. Colville, Captain McMahon, Sir James Grant, and Mr. Fred Villiers (the celebrated artist and war correspondent), arrived at Winnipeg on 23rd September. The weather was unpropitious, but the citizens turned out and accorded the representative of Her Majesty a hearty welcome. His Lordship and party were escorted from the railway station to Government house by a torch-light procession, the streets along the route being brilliantly illuminated and decorated. On the following day a civic address was presented by the Mayor and Aldermen, to which Lord Stanley replied in eloquent and appropriate terms. The festivities were marred by continuous rain during the party's stay in the city. The three days were marked by the presentation of numerous patriotic addresses from various public leaders, a regatta, a state dinner, and a levee, at the Parliament House, which was largely attended. His Excellency visited the colleges at St. John's and St. Boniface, the

Stony Mountain penitentiary, and other public institutions. Proceeding westward, he was the recipient of a cordial welcome at every point of his journey—at Portage la Prairie, Minnedosa, Shoal Lake, Russell, Gladstone, Brandon, Carberry, Elkhorn, Moosomin, Whitewood, Regina, Medicine Hat, Calgary, and other towns, he was presented with addresses and other marks of respect. At Banff, a grand ball was given in his honor, and British Columbia entertained him with the proverbial hospitality of her warm-hearted people. His Excellency returned to Ottawa by way of San Francisco.

The Manitoba school question soon became a subject of widespread and bitter controversy, for, unfortunately for Manitoba, and unfortunately for Canada, any question that involves a conflict between race or creed is eagerly seized upon by unscrupulous politicians to stir up the spirit of bigotry that unhappily underlies the surface of our social and political fabric—an evil spirit that retards our progress, and which, if not exorcised, may eventually lead to the disintegration of the Dominion.

At the close of 1889, the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company had 266 miles of road in operation within the Province, but the great advantages of competition, and cheapening of rates, promised by the company, scarcely fulfilled the hopes of those who had so longed for its advent. It was found that the rates were not materially reduced, and that although the small section of country served by the system derived the benefit of rail communication, the country at large was not benefited at all. But this fact seemed to be overlooked by the majority of the mercurial people of Manitoba, whose minds were now completely given up to the discussion of the school question.

The seat for Kildonan, rendered vacant by the death of Hon. John Norquay, was filled by the election of his brother, Mr. Thomas Norquay, who defeated Mr. James Taylor, Government candidate, 325 to 142, on 1st February, 1890.

The session of the Legislature was eagerly looked forward to as the battle-ground upon which the fate of the Catholic schools of Manitoba should be decided. On 30th January, 1890, Chief Justice Taylor opened the House, in the absence of Lieutenant-Governor Schultz, who was too ill to attend the ceremony. A large number of petitions were presented to the House against the abolition of the separate schools, and the French as an official language. In October, 1889, the Government had ceased the publication of the *Official Gazette* in French, acting upon the authority of an Order-in-Council. In the House, Mr. J. E. P. Prendergast moved a resolution, censuring the Government for having taken this arbitrary action, without having obtained the authority of the Legislature. The resolution was voted down, 27 to 6, the French members only voting for it. Subsequently, an act was passed, making English the official language in the courts and Legislature of the Province. Two acts dealing with the educational system were introduced at this session. The first, respecting the Department of Education, provided that the department should consist of the Executive Council, or a committee thereof, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The powers of the department were defined as follows:—To appoint inspectors of high and public school teachers in Provincial, Normal, and Model schools, and directors of teachers' institutes, and to define their duties, and to fix their salaries; to prescribe forms for school registers and reports to the department; the appointment of an Advisory Board, two

members to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and elected by the school trustees of the Province, one by the teachers, and one by the University Council. The powers of the Advisory Board were defined as follows:—To make regulations for the equipment and ventilation of school-houses, and for the arrangements and requisites of school premises; to authorize text-books, books of reference, and school libraries; to determine the qualifications of teachers and inspectors for high and public schools; to determine the standard to be obtained by pupils for admission to high schools; to decide such matters as might be referred to them by the department; to appoint examiners for the purpose of preparing examination papers for teachers' certificates, and for entrance examinations to high schools; to prescribe the forms of religious exercises to be used in the schools. "The Public Schools Act," in the clauses that materially affected the Separate or Catholic schools, provided that in "Separate School districts, which have been established, covering the same district as any public district," such separate school districts were declared to have ceased to exist upon the coming into force of the act, and their assets and liabilities were to be taken over and administered by the public school district covering the same territory. All school trustees in office at the time of the coming into force of the act, were confirmed in office. The clauses relating to religious exercises, were as follow:—

6. Religious exercises in the public schools shall be conducted according to the regulations of the advisory board. The time for such religious exercises shall be just before the closing hour in the afternoon. In case the parent or guardian of any pupil notifies the teacher that he does not wish such pupil to attend such religious exercises, then such pupil shall be dismissed before such religious exercises take place.

7. Religious exercises shall be held in a public school, entirely at the option of the school trustees of the district, and upon receiving written

authority from the trustees, it shall be the duty of the teachers to hold such religious exercises.

8. The public schools shall be entirely non-sectarian, and no religious instruction or exercises shall be allowed therein except as above provided.

The bill creating the Department of Education, and abolishing the Protestant and Catholic Boards of Education, passed its second reading after considerable debate, on a division on an amendment moved by Mr. Robbie, seconded by Mr. A. F. Martin (Morris), to the effect that the provisions of the bill were detrimental to the best interests of education, inasmuch as it placed the absolute power of managing and directing the school system in the hands of the Government, instead of having the system controlled by an non-partizan and independent body, as heretofore, and that it was advisable to have the schools administered by a non-partizan Board of Education, composed of persons chosen for their experience in educational matters, and free from Government or political party influence. The vote on the amendment stood 10 for, 26 against, and the motion for the second reading carried on the same division. The debate on the School Act, which followed, was the most prolonged and bitter ever witnessed in the Manitoba Legislature.

Mr. Gillies moved, seconded by Mr. Robbie: "That the bill be now read a second time, but that such steps be taken as will secure an amendment by the Imperial Parliament of the British North America Act, whereby the right of the Legislature of Manitoba to deal with educational matters in the Province shall be firmly and clearly established without appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council, or to the Parliament of Canada." This was negatived by thirty to five, the French members voting with the majority, and the minority being

composed of Messrs. Gillies, Robbie, Wood, Norquay, and O'Malley.

Each of the French members, Messrs. Prendergast, Marion, A. F. Martin, Galley, Lagemodiere, and Jerome, proposed amendments, which were negatived after exhaustive argument, and the bill passed its second reading on a vote of twenty-two to six; the French members forming the minority. Attorney-General Martin, Hon. J. A. Smart, Mr. Sifton, and other Government members, supported the bill, arguing that it was designed to promote harmony, and to secure justice to people of all religious beliefs.

Mr. Martin explained that it was desired to establish a purely national system of schools, under which every individual should have equal rights and privileges, under which no denomination, nor race, nor class, nor creed, would be recognized, but a system under which any parent, be he Episcopalian Presbyterian, or Roman Catholic, could send his children to the schools, feeling sure that they would all be treated alike, without any reference to their nationality or creed. It was contended that the Constitution prevented the change being made, but he argued that there was no constitutional difficulty in the way of the proposed legislation, and, after an exhaustive speech, in which he ably dealt with the legal aspect of the question, he concluded by stating that if the Constitution was clearly against the enactment of such a law, it would be necessary to have the constitution changed, but if the question was a matter of doubt, the proper proceeding would be to pass the statutes, and throw the onus of their constitutionality on the Dominion authorities. The French members argued that the proposed change in the school system was uncalled for, and arbitrary—a measure prompted by the incendiary speech-

es of Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, who was endeavoring to array race against race, and creed against creed, throughout the Dominion, animated in his attempt by an insensate bigotry—that it was calculated to disturb the harmony that had existed in educational affairs ever since the creation of the Province, and even before the Province or Confederation was thought of; that the question had not been an issue on a matter of Government policy, at the general elections, and that the country should have an opportunity of approving or disapproving of it before it was legislated on, and forced upon the electorate. Mr. Prendergast made an admirable speech, in which he eloquently advocated the rights of the Catholic minority, which won the applause of both friends and opponents. He declared that the Catholics of Manitoba would never submit to the injustice proposed to be thrust upon them, until the last court of resort had been appealed to, and its decision handed down, then, if the decision should be adverse, “he, and the whole Catholic people of Manitoba would submit, sad, but resigned, conscious that they had contended for the most elementary principles of Christianity; and they would look for homes in other countries, where, perhaps, they would not find a more favorable condition of things, but where the principle will not have been laid down that all contracts may be ruthlessly trampled upon; that right means something only when it is in the hands of the majority: and that the most solemn privileges are mere trifles in the hands of politicians, to be used for party purposes.” Mr. A. F. Martin also distinguished himself in the debate by speaking from 10 o'clock p.m., till 7.30 o'clock of the following morning—nine and a-half hours! On the motion for the third reading of the bill, Mr. Galley moved that it be referred back to the committee of the whole, with in-

structions to strike out the last clause and insert therefor the following :—" This act shall not come into force until the opinion of the Supreme Court of Canada be obtained as to its constitutionality." The motion was supported by Messrs. Martin (Morris), Prendergast, Gillies, Wood, Marion, O'Malley, Jerome, Lagemodière, Galley, Norquay, and Roblin ; and the following voted against it : Hon. Messrs. Greenway, Martin, McLean, Smart and McMillan, and Messrs. Hettle, Mickle, Colcleugh, Campbell (Souris), MacKenzie, Thompson (Norfolk), Jones, Young, Jackson, Morton, Lawrence, Thompson (Emerson), Crawford, Winkler, Dickson, Smith, Harrower, Graham, Sifton, Campbell (South Winnipeg)—25, and the bill passed on the same division. It was noted as a significant fact in the course of the debate on the School Act, that an item appeared in the estimates for \$1,000 for "constitutional litigation"—a pretty clear indication that the Government were not quite sure of their position on the question.

A resolution was unanimously adopted endorsing the proposal of the Government to reopen negotiations with the Dominion authorities, with the view of obtaining a just and equitable adjustment of the claims of the Province, for an increase of the annual grant of \$100,000 in lieu of lands.

An act was passed granting additional aid to the Hudson's Bay Railway Company, which empowered the Lieutenant-Governor in-Council to enter into an agreement with the company to aid them with a cash bonus not to exceed \$3,000 per mile, for that portion of the main line within the limits of the Province, not exceeding in all two hundred and fifty miles. Such aid to be paid only on completion and operation of a railway through to Hudson's Bay, or in instalments, as the work progressed, on satisfactory guarantees to the company's

ability to complete the road. Payment, or security for payment, of the principal and interest compounded, at the rate of five per cent., on the bonds already issued to the company, was made a condition precedent to such agreement. Instead of the cash bonus, a guarantee of interest on the company's bonds for twenty years might be arranged for, on such an amount as would not increase the liability of the Province.

It was found necessary at this session to enact a new Municipal Act, the former measure having been disallowed, on account of certain sections granting powers to the City of Winnipeg, in respect to taxation and the sales of lands for taxes and interest accrued thereon. The new bill was passed with these sections struck out, and a special act was passed, re-enacting the offending clauses that had been disallowed by the Minister of Justice, Attorney-General Martin contending that the measure was *intra vires*, notwithstanding the disallowance. A large number of measures of minor importance, and many amendments to existing acts, completed a vast amount of legislation passed at this, the longest session held in Manitoba—the House prorogued on the 31st March, having sat continuously for just two months.

Immediately after prorogation the resignation of Attorney-General Martin was announced, but in a few days afterwards he was induced to withdraw it and remain in the Government. In August it was announced that the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company had ceased to be an independent corporation, and that the Manitoba system had been absorbed by the Northern Pacific Railway Company. This, in the face of existing contracts and agreements, was a surprise to the public, and the *Free Press* and other newspapers, opposed to the Government, attacked the arrangement vigorously. Mr.

Luxton, editor-in-chief of the *Free Press*, was summoned before the Police Court on a charge of criminally libelling Attorney-General Martin, but the prosecution failed to prove their case, and the criminal proceedings were dropped for the time being. Later, Mr. Luxton was indicted on another charge of a similar nature, and the case, which will be remembered as a *cause célèbre*, was tried at the November assizes, 1890, and ended in a disagreement of the jury—nine being for acquittal and three for conviction—and the entry of a *nolle prosequi* by the Crown prosecutor.

The year 1890 witnessed great progress in Manitoba and the North-West. The crop of Manitoba, despite the fact that considerable grain was lost owing to heavy rains during harvest time, amounted to 14,000,000 bushels of wheat, 3,000,000 of oats, and 1,000,000 of barley for export. The C.P.R. were completing their Glenboro' and Melita branch, the Manitoba and North-Western had been extended to Yorkton, the Regina and Long Lake had reached Prince Albert, and the Calgary and Edmonton had been constructed as far as Red Deer.

The Dominion Parliament was dissolved on the 2nd February, 1891, and a general election took place on the 6th March. In Manitoba, the following candidates were nominated:—Winnipeg: Sir Donald A. Smith, Conservative; Isaac Campbell, Q.C., Liberal; Lisgar: A. W. Ross, M.P., Conservative; John Taylor, Liberal; Marquette: N. Boyd, Conservative; Robert Watson, Liberal; Provencher: Hon. A. A. C. Lariviere, Conservative, elected by acclamation; Selkirk, F. Mayne Daly, Q.C., Conservative; Hon. Joseph Martin, Liberal. Sir Donald A. Smith, having received the nomination for Montreal West, simultaneously with his nomination for Winnipeg, declined to run for the latter, and, at the last mo-

ment, Mr. Hugh J. Macdonald, Q.C., son of Sir John A. Macdonald, was chosen by the Conservatives of Winnipeg. The result was the return of the following members:—Winnipeg, Hugh J. Macdonald, majority 509; Lisgar, A. W. Ross, majority 214; Marquette, Robert Watson, majority 19; Selkirk, Thomas Mayne Daly, majority 435.

The constitutionality of the School Act was tested in the local courts, on the application of a Roman Catholic ratepayer, to quash two by-laws of the City of Winnipeg, for the purpose of raising funds for school purposes. The application was made in the first instance before Justice Killour, in the Court of Queen's Bench, who delivered judgment dismissing the summons, and holding that the Public Schools Act was not *ultra vires*, that the Act itself did not create a system of denominational schools, or assume to compel any class to support denominational schools other than their own, and that it was competent for the Legislature to abolish the system of separate schools which it had established. This decision was upheld by a majority of the full court on appeal, His Lordship Chief Justice Taylor and Justice Bain sustaining the judgment, and Justice Dubuc dissenting. The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, and finally to the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council.

The fourth session of the seventh Legislature opened on the 26th of February, 1891. The first business of the House was the election of a Speaker to take the place of Mr. William Winram, whose death occurred during the recess, and Mr. Samuel J. Jackson, member for Rockwood, was chosen. When the House met, there were four seats vacant. Attorney-General Martin, Portage la Prairie, and Isaac Campbell, Winnipeg South, had resigned to run for the House of Commons, and the death of Speaker Winram made a vacancy in Manitoba.

Hon. Gilbert McMicken, whose name has been mentioned frequently in these pages, died on the 7th of March, aged 77 years.

On the 7th of April, Attorney-General Martin was re-elected for Portage la Prairie, by a majority of 61 over his opponent, Mr. Garland, mayor of the town, and resumed his duties as Attorney-General.

In the House, Premier Greenway defended the Northern Pacific contract, pointing out that the Province had secured 266 miles of competitive railway at an outlay of only \$532,011.90, and with regard to the Souris branch, it was not the fault of the Government if the company had not carried out its agreement. The public accounts for 1890 showed a total for ordinary expenditure of \$579,211.17, or \$66,434.09 less than the estimates; extra expenditure, including aid to railways, municipalities, public buildings, etc., increased the total expenditure of the year to \$1,021,641.07, against receipts from all sources of \$924,431. Mr. Roblin, who had assumed the leadership of the Opposition, resigned by Mr. Gillies, criticised the methods of keeping the public accounts, which were calculated to bewilder the House, instead of being a comprehensive statement, and claimed that \$249,810.23, appearing as assets, were really trust funds, for which the Province was liable; and that the actual cash available belonging to the Province was only \$407,263.89, instead of \$657,074.12, as shown by the public accounts. The Opposition made an effort to have a portion of \$120,000, voted for education, set apart for the maintenance of Catholic schools until the constitutionality of the School Act should be determined, but their proposal was defeated by a large adverse vote. The Act to consolidate the law respecting elections of members

to the Legislative Assembly met with a great deal of opposition. The great objection to the act was that it took the duty of compiling the voters' lists out of the hands of municipal clerks and confided it to enumerators appointed by the Government, and the Opposition contended that this would enable partizan enumerators to disfranchise opponents of the Government by leaving their names off the lists, and to make up lists favorable to the Government, at their discretion. The manner of making up the lists, and the absence in the bill of provisions for simple and economical methods of revising them, were also severely criticised. The bill was fought clause by clause, and the debate lasted for twenty-one hours—the longest sitting of the House on record—resulting in the passage of the bill, with certain amendments, the most important being a provision that the lists should be printed for inspection before being finally revised—the original clause left the question of printing the primary lists optional. A new Hudson's Bay Railway Aid Act was passed without opposition, providing for a bonus of \$1,500,000 for a completed all-rail line to Hudson's Bay, in five years. Aid to the extent of \$150,000 was granted to the C. P. R. for the extension of the Souris branch to the coal fields, the Northern Pacific having failed to carry out their agreement in that direction, although the Government declared their intention of compelling them to do so, if possible, and placed \$120,000 in the estimates to assist their Souris branch. One of the most important works completed during 1890, the consolidation of the Provincial Statutes, was ratified at this session. Prorogation took place on 18th April, and on the 14th May Attorney-General Martin resigned, being succeeded by Hon. Clifford Sifton.

The death of the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, on 6th

June, regarded throughout the Dominion as a national calamity, touched the people of the North-West more intuitively, perhaps, than those of any other portion of the country, for to his unswerving loyalty and broad statesmanship was due the progress and development which they had reached. His had been the mind that conceived the possibility of a Canadian North-West—his the hand that had shaped its political being, and rendered its existence a fact instead of a dream, by the construction, in the face of overwhelming difficulties, of the Canadian Pacific Railway. To him, mainly, was due all the measures that had changed a vast wilderness into an embryo empire within a few short years—and the people, to whom his efforts had secured happy and prosperous homes on the broad prairies, mourned his loss as they would have mourned for a dear friend or relation. An appropriate tribute to his memory is expressed in the following lines, written by Mr. Frank I. Clarke, a citizen of Winnipeg :—

Cold is the hand that grasped a people's fate,  
At rest the master brain whose mighty ken—  
Subtle in council, king-like in debate—  
So dwarfed the efforts of his fellow-men.

And, as a child who knows its first of grief,  
Unreasoning and hopeless in its woe,  
The Nation mourns her best beloved chief  
Prostrate and broken 'neath the cruel blow.

He saw her birth, he led her falt'ring feet ;  
Rough-hewn he found her, perfect now she stands,  
The grand creation of his life complete—  
The envy and the peer of other lands.  
Guard well the heritage—his great intent—  
Be, Canada, his lasting monument.

The grain crop of 1891 was far in excess of former years, although some portion was damaged by frost, and aggregated

over 41,000,000 bushels—wheat, 23,191,600; barley, 3,197,875; oats, 14,762,605.

On the 13th January, 1892, elections were held in Winnipeg South and Manitou. In the latter constituency, James Huston, Conservative, defeated the Government candidate, Joseph Tees, by 24 majority. In Winnipeg South, John D. Cameron, Government supporter, was returned by 98 majority, over Daniel E. Sprague, Conservative.

The Legislature met on 10th March, 1892. The public accounts showed a total of receipts \$739,095.59, and expenditures, \$828,646.95. The estimates for 1892 were, revenue, \$631,412.54; expenditure, \$737,628.21. A redistribution of seats, increasing the number of representatives to forty, was passed, which, however, reduced the number of French constituencies from six to three. This redistribution, although it was intended to secure fair representation by population, failed in this object to a material degree, for, while Winnipeg, St. Boniface and Kildonan, with a combined population of 33,185, were given five seats, twelve western constituencies, Minnedosa, Saskatchewan, Lansdowne, Westbourne, Turtle Mountain, Killarney, Deloraine, North and South Brandon, Dennis, Russell and Arthur, with a combined population of 33,693, had twelve seats. An act was passed granting aid to the extent of \$1,750 per mile for 30 miles, to either the C.P.R. or N.P. and M.R., for whichever completed the Souris extension within one year, and the C.P.R. took advantage of this act, and completed their branch to the coal fields. The remainder of the business of the session was mainly amendments to acts passed at former sessions; but, before prorogation, which took place on 19th April, a bill was passed to enable the electors to register their votes upon the advisability of the introduction of a prohibitory liquor law.

Mr. Robert Watson, M.P. for Marquette, resigned his seat in the Commons, and on the 26th of April, accepted office as Minister of Public Works in the Greenway Cabinet, his seat in the Commons being afterwards filled by Mr. N. Boyd, Conservative. Hon. James A. Smart changed from the Public Works department to the Provincial Secretaryship, and Hon. D. McLean remained in the Government without portfolio. Hon. Mr. Watson's appointment was a popular move, and greatly strengthened the Administration.

As an early dissolution of the Legislature was imminent, both the Government and their opponents busied themselves in preparations for the general elections. Political meetings were being held throughout the Province, and conventions for the selection and nomination of candidates assembled in nearly every constituency. The Opposition held a Provincial convention at Winnipeg on the 30th of April, at which a platform was adopted, of which the following is a summary :—Economy compatible with efficient public service. An election law that would ensure the franchise to every duly qualified elector, and free from the suspicion of party manipulation. A simple, inexpensive and efficient system of registration of voters and revision of the lists by the judges. A redistribution of seats, having due regard to population, territory, and identity of interests. A railway policy that would ensure the entrance to the Province of other railways, and ensure competition in freight rates. The granting of aid to colonization roads, more especially to one calculated to serve the Dauphin district, and to one securing a direct route from Winnipeg to Duluth. No aid to be given without a guarantee of actual and substantial reduction in freight rates. Encouragement and support of the Hudson's Bay Railway. One uniform system of public

schools. The carrying out of the existing school act if it be declared constitutional by the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. If it be not so held, to endeavor to secure such amendments to the British North America Act and Manitoba Act as would place educational matters wholly within the power of the Province, without appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council for the Parliament of Canada. An improved immigration policy. A more precise definition of the duties and powers of the Municipal Commissioner. Simplification of the Municipal Act. The equitable relief of municipalities that were involved through aiding colonization railways. Contracts for public works to be awarded to the lowest *bona fide* tenderer. A workman's compensation act, similar to acts in force in Great Britain and Ontario.

In the Dominion Parliament, a new Redistribution Act, based on the census of 1891, was passed, which gave Manitoba seven members, instead of five. The new electoral districts were named Macdonald and Brandon, those already existing were Winnipeg, Lisgar, Marquette, Provencher, and Selkirk.

The Legislature was dissolved by proclamation in June, and writs for a general election were issued, fixing 16th July for nominations, and 23rd July for polling day. At the elections, returning officers were furnished with ballots in the following form:—

FOR PROHIBITION    -   -   -	
AGAINST PROHIBITION   -   -	

and each elector, who presented himself to vote, was handed one of those, and given an opportunity to express his opinion

on the liquor question. The plebiscite ballots were to be deposited in the ballot boxes, and counted by the returning officers at the close of the polls, and returns made of the total votes cast for and against prohibition.

On nomination day, the following candidates were declared elected by acclamation:—Russell, James Fisher, Independent; Westbourne, T. L. Morton, Government; Woodlands, Hugh Armstrong, Opposition; Lorne, R. G. O'Malley, Opposition. The election resulted as follows:—

Avondale, J. M. Hactney—O.	Mountain, Hon. T. Greenway—G.
Beautif'l Plains, J. H. Davidson—O.	Norfolk, R. F. Lyons—O.
Birtle, C. J. Mickle—G.	North Brandon, Hon. C. Sifton—G.
Brandon City, W. A. Macdonald—O.	Portage la Pr., Hon. R. Watson—G.
Carrillon, M. Jerome—O.	Rhineland, V. Winkler—G.
Cypress, W. Doig—G.	Rockwood, S. J. Jackson—G.
Dauphin, T. A. Burrows—G.	Rosenfeldt, E. Winkler—G.
Deloraine, T. H. Kellett—O.	Russell Jas. Fisher—Ind.
Dennis, J. F. Frame—O.	St. Andrews, F. W. Colcleugh—G.
Emerson, D. McFadden—O.	St. Boniface, J. E. Prendergast—O.
Kildonan, J. J. Bird—G.	Saskatchewan, D. McNaught—G.
Killarney, F. M. Young—G.	Souris, A. M. Campbell—G.
Lakeside, Dr. J. G. Rutherford—G.	S. Brandon, H. C. Graham—G.
Lansdowne, E. J. Dickson—G.	Springfield, T. Smith—G.
La Verandre,—T. Pare—O.	Turtle Mountain, John Hettle—G.
Lorne—R. G. O'Malley—O.	Westbourne, T. L. Morton—Ind.
Manitou, R. Ironside—G.	Winnip'g C., Hon. D. H. McMillan—G.
Minnedosa, R. H. Myers—G.	Winnipeg N., P. C. McIntyre—G.
Morden, T. Duncan—G.	Winnipeg S., J. D. Cameron—G.
Morris, A. F. Martin—G.	Woodlands, Hugh Armstrong—O.

Two of the Ministers, Messrs. Smart and McLean, were defeated at this election, and but fourteen of the members of the former Legislature were returned—a great change in the personnel of the House—yet the Government had reason to be satisfied with the result which gave them a good working majority. The result of the plebiscite on prohibition was most

gratifying to the temperance people. Of the total number of electors who exercised their franchise—28,204—19,639 voted for total prohibition, and 7,115 against, shewing a majority of 12,522 in favor of prohibition; 1,452 refrained from voting.

The summer and autumn of 1892 were uneventful. The crop was remarkably fine; wheat averaged twenty-two bushels to the acre, and there were 20,000,000 for export, but prices were low, and farmers complained accordingly. The first provincial agricultural and industrial summer exhibition, under the auspices of the Winnipeg Industrial Exhibition Company, was held during the last week of July, and was very successful, the daily attendance being far above the average of former exhibitions. Senator Marc A. Girard, ex-Premier of Manitoba, died on the 12th September, aged seventy years, and Mr. T. A. Bernier was appointed to succeed him on the 26th October.

Hon. E. Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, accepted the Lieutenant Governorship of British Columbia, and on 19th October. Hon. Thomas Mayne Daly, member for Selkirk, was sworn in as his successor, and as Manitoba's first Dominion Cabinet Minister. Hon. Mr. Daly was warmly welcomed on his return to Manitoba after his appointment, and his constituents re-elected him by acclamation.

On 28th April, 1893, there passed away at Winnipeg, one of the best friends and most able advocates that the Canadian North-West ever possessed—the Honorable James W. Taylor, consul for the United States. Mr. Taylor had been intimately connected with North-West affairs since 1856, so much so that he had obtained the *sobriquet* of "Saskatchewan" Taylor among his countrymen. His services, in collecting and publishing information regarding the resources of the North-

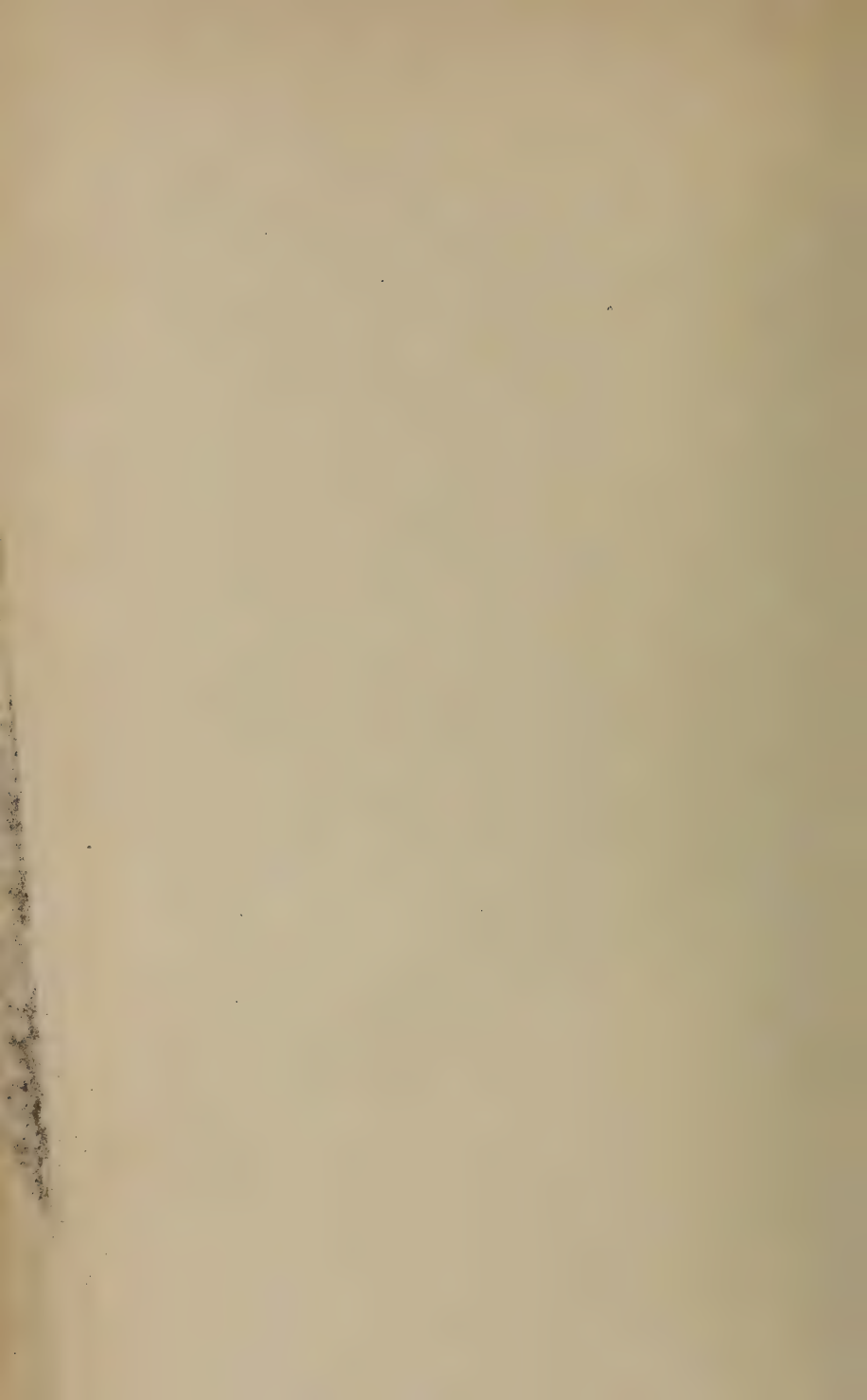
West, were invaluable, and his death caused sincere sorrow and regret.

Hon. James A. Smart resigned as Provincial Secretary early in January, 1893, and was succeeded by Hon. J. D. Cameron, member for Winnipeg South. Mr. Cameron presented himself for re-election on 20th January, and was returned by acclamation.

Manitoba's eighth Legislature assembled on 5th February, 1893, with the usual ceremonies. The House re-elected Mr. S. J. Jackson as Speaker. One of the most important measures introduced at this session was the Public Health Act, providing for the appointment of a Provincial Board of Health, and the organization of local boards in the different municipalities. Another was an act to levy a tax on property passing by succession. Mr. Greenway announced that the Government had leased land at Chicago, at a rental of \$7,500, and had now under construction a building for Manitoba's exhibit, estimated to cost \$31,000. The Government had deemed it advisable to take this step, in order to obtain for the Province greater publicity than could be secured by placing the exhibit in the Canadian section of the general exhibition, where it would be entirely lost. The Canadian building, Mr. Greenway declared, was a disgrace to Canada, just about fit to make a good stable for a Manitoba farmer. The Dominion Government had been asked to aid the Province in defraying the expense at the World's Fair, and had offered only \$5,000, which the Province declined to accept, and it was then determined that Manitoba should make an independent exhibit of her products outside of the Fair grounds, and entirely apart from the other Provinces. A lease was made with an hotelman for a portion of the building, containing 120 rooms, by which



Hon. W. E. Sanford,  
*Senator.*



he agreed to pay \$31,000, and that no liquor should be sold on the premises. In this way, it was calculated that the cost of displaying the exhibit would be nominal, but to cover preliminary expenses, \$66,000 was placed in the estimates, and eventually the scheme cost the Province over \$60,000, but the advertisement and the benefit derived was a good one for Manitoba.

The Court House at Winnipeg had become too small for its requirements, and \$86,000 was voted for a new one; also \$60,000 for a Normal School. The Government introduced a petition to the Dominion Parliament asking for prohibitory legislation on several grounds, principally the result of the plebiscite. This action was attacked by the Opposition, who moved in amendment that the Government prepare legislation dealing with the question, which was defeated. A second amendment, that a committee composed of the members of the Executive Council be instructed to prepare a bill to provide for total prohibition, and report to the House, and that such prohibitory law should only come into force by proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, after its constitutionality had been ascertained, was moved by Mr. A. F. Martin, and met the fate of the former resolution, being negatived by 25 to 12. The motion for the petition was then allowed to pass, Mr. Martin, only, voting against it. The Government found the revenue inadequate to meet the expenses of Government, and a bill was submitted, authorizing a loan of \$1,000,000 bearing interest at four per cent. for twenty-five years. The proposal met with fierce opposition, but finally passed on a division, 24 to 12. The increasing demands on the treasury for railway bonuses, interest on railway aid debentures, and other minor items, had created a deficit of \$304,325 for the

year, and the loan was considered absolutely necessary. A motion, by Mr. Fisher (Independent), to repeal the Redistribution Act, and substitute a measure that would harmonize more perfectly with the established municipal divisions, community of interests, and continuity of established lines of division, in the populations of the respective districts, was defeated by 21 votes to 12. An act, guaranteeing aid to the extent of \$9,000 per mile to a railway from Portage la Prairie into the Lake Dauphin country, was also passed at this session. A bill to repeal the School Act, introduced by Mr. Jerome, was defeated on the motion for its second reading, by 34 votes to 4. The House prorogued on the 11th March.

Sales of Manitoba school lands were held in 1892 and 1893, as follows:—

1892. Acres sold - 53,030	1893. Acres sold - 12,602
Average per acre - \$7.94	Average per acre - \$7.10
Total realized \$121,517.00	Total realized \$89,505.00

Mr. W. A. Macdonald, member for Brandon City, and leader of the Opposition, was unseated for breaches of the Elections Act by an agent, and a new election was held on the 8th September, 1893. Charles Adams, a Government supporter, was elected by a majority of 31, over Mr. Macdonald.

A notable event of 1893 was the election of the Right Reverend Robert Machray, Metropolitan of Rupert's Land, to be Primate of all Canada, Archbishop of Rupert's Land and Metropolitan, an honor that was highly appreciated by his church people, and the people of Manitoba generally.

In September, Mr. W. F. Luxton, who had been widely and favorably known, as editor-in-chief of the *Free Press* for twenty years, severed his connection with that paper, under circumstances which caused considerable excited comment

throughout the country. Mr. Luxton's retirement was a matter of widespread regret, and great sympathy was expressed for him in being compelled to abandon his life's work and engage in a new struggle with fate, for which he was unequipped, as he had sacrificed personal interests for the good of his paper.

Hugh J. Macdonald, Winnipeg's representative in the Commons, resigned his seat for private reasons, in September, 1893, and an election to fill the vacancy took place on the 22nd November. The candidates were Colin H. Campbell, Q.C., Conservative, and Joseph Martin, Q.C., Liberal. Mr. Martin was elected by 425 majority.

Again, Manitoba was blessed with an abundant harvest. Wheat aggregated over 20,000,000 bushels; oats, 15,000,000, and barley, 3,500,000, flax—the cultivation of which was only beginning to claim the attention of the farmers—147,000 bushels.

The second session of the eighth Legislature was called together for dispatch of business on the 12th of January, 1894. The legislation outlined in the Speech from the Throne was not of an important nature, and the proceedings throughout were in marked contrast to preceding sessions, when, too often, personal recriminations took the place of argument, and the dignity of the House was forgotten. Mr. J. H. Davidson, member for Beautiful Plains, assumed the leadership of the Opposition. The first division, which occurred (after the House had been sitting for over three weeks) on a want of confidence motion on the budget speech, showed the parties to stand: Government, 26; Opposition, 11. The total revenue for the year ending the 31st of December, 1893, was stated in the public accounts at \$1,720,426.73, and the expenditures, \$1,145,968.67.

Hon. Mr. McMillan, in his budget speech, announced the floating of the Provincial loan of \$1,000,000, authorized at the previous session, by the sale of bonds for thirty-five years, at 4 per cent. The bonds were sold in Edinburgh at  $97\frac{1}{2}$  net. The issue price was par. The difference was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of which had been paid to the underwriters. The estimates for 1894 aggregated: Revenue, \$636,000; Expenditure, \$632,918.

It was found that the expenses in connection with the Provincial Exhibit at the World's Fair had exceeded the estimate considerably, the actual cost being something over \$60,000. The grant for Immigration was reduced from \$25,000 to \$15,000, as it was found the results of the past year's work had not been proportionate to the expenditure. The immigration offices in eastern cities were closed, and some of the agents were dispensed with. A petition was presented, with over two thousand signatures attached, praying that the franchise be granted to women, but the matter was allowed to drag through the session, and a bill, introduced by Mr. Ironside, member for Manitou, did not reach a second reading. The House was prorogued on 2nd March, after passing forty-eight acts, twenty-nine of which were amendments to existing statutes, nine private bills, and four legalizing municipal-by-laws.

The general depression in business in 1894, consequent upon the low price of wheat—No. 1 hard, selling at 43 cents per bushel—created a disheartening feeling in Manitoba, which found vent in an outcry against the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, who were accused of discriminating against the North-West in the matter of freight rates. The Patrons of Industry movement, initiated in the eastern Provinces, spread to Manitoba; a newspaper, the *Nor'-Wester*, was started ex-

pressly to fight the C.P.R., and the clamor for reduced rates became so persistent that the Dominion Government appointed a commission to enquire into and report upon the matters complained of. This commission is at work as this volume goes to press, so that we can give no account of its transactions.

Mr. Greenway's Government appeared to possess the confidence of the people as strongly as ever at the close of the session we have just noted, and, although some of his acts were severely criticized and condemned by political opponents, he seemed to have a firm grasp of public affairs, and to be strongly intrenched in his position.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE ROYAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE year 1888 witnessed the introduction of several reformatory measures in the North-West Territories, the most important of which was the establishment of a new system of Government. Parliament assembled at Ottawa on 23rd February, 1888, and during the session the question of changing the form of Government in the Territories was discussed, resulting in the passing of the North-West Territories Act, whereby the North-West Council was abolished, and the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories authorized. The act divided the Territories into nineteen electoral districts, and provided for the election of twenty-two representatives. Assiniboia to have eleven members, Alberta six, and Saskatchewan five. Three appointed members, to be known as legal experts, to be chosen from the territorial judiciary, with power to participate in the proceedings of the Assembly, but not allowed to vote. The Assembly was given authority to elect a Speaker, and to make ordinances in relation to the following subjects: electoral proceedings, other than the qualification of voters; taxation for territorial and municipal purposes; the establishment and tenure of territorial offices, and payment of same out of territorial revenues; the establishment, maintenance and management of prisons, municipal institutions and licenses; the incorporation of companies, except

as provided in the other Provinces; the solemnization of marriage; property and civil rights; the administration of justice, except the power of appointing judicial officers; the expenditure of territorial funds and such portion of any moneys voted by the Dominion Parliament for the Territories, as the Lieutenant-Governor should be, with the advice of the Assembly, authorized to spend; and, generally, all matters of a local or private nature in the Territories. The members to be elected for three years, subject to sooner dissolution by the Lieutenant-Governor. Every person, other than aliens or Indians, being a *bona fide* male resident and householder of adult age, a resident in the Territories for twelve months, and within the electoral district for the three months previous to the election, was qualified to vote. The system of open voting was retained. The act also provided for an Advisory Council of four members, to be chosen from the Assembly by the Lieutenant-Governor, and who, acting with him, formed an Executive in matters of finance. Members were to receive a sessional indemnity of \$500 each, and travelling expenses, and the legal experts, \$250; Speaker, \$500; Clerk of the Assembly and Lieutenant-Governor's secretary, \$2,000 per year—these accounts were to be paid from the Dominion consolidated revenue fund.

Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney's term expired in July, 1888, and he was succeeded by Honorable Joseph Royal, who was sworn in at Regina on 4th July. The ex-Governor accepted office in the Dominion Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, and was elected by acclamation in East Assiniboia, and Mr. Perley, who retired in his favor, was shortly afterwards created a Senator.

The restrictions applying to the importation of malt and

spirituous liquors were modified during the summer, by permission being granted to proprietors of hotels, with a capacity of twelve sleeping rooms, and stabling for five horses, to import and sell beer containing not more than four per cent. of alcohol, paying a tax of ten cents per gallon: and druggists were granted permits to sell brandy on physicians' certificates.

Elections for the North-West Assembly were held on 27th June, and the following members were returned:—Moosomin, James R. Neff, acclamation: Wallace, Joel Reaman; White-wood, Alexander G. Thorburn: Souris, John G. Turriff; Wolseley, Benjamin P. Richardson: South Qu'Appelle, George S. Davidson; North Qu'Appelle, William Sutherland: North Regina, David F. Jelly: South Regina, John Secord: Moose Jaw, James H. Ross; Medicine Hat, Thomas Tweed, acclamation; Macleod, Frederick W. G. Haultain, acclamation: Calgary, John Linchern and Hugh St. Q. Cayley: Red Deer, Robert G. Brett, M.D.: Edmonton, Herbert C. Wilson, M.D., and Frank Oliver; Battleford, James Clinkskill: Prince Albert, William Plaxton and John F. Brett; Batoche, Hillyard Mitchell; Kinistino, James Hoey.

- The first session of the first Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories met on the 31st October, and was opened with the customary ceremonies, by His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Royal. He announced the appointment of the Honorable Messrs. Justices Richardson, Macleod, and Rouleau, as legal experts; and his selection of Messrs. W. G. Haultain, D. F. Jelly, William Sutherland, and Hillyard Mitchell, as his advisory council. The Assembly elected Mr. Herbert C. Wilson as Speaker.

One of the first official acts of Lieutenant-Governor Royal was to cause the consolidation of the ordinances of the de-

funct North-West Council, the work being entrusted to Mr. Justice Richardson and Mr. A. E. Forget, Clerk of the late Council.

The liquor question was considered of first importance, and an effectual method of reaching its solution was debated at great length in the Assembly. It was suggested that a vote of the people be taken to ascertain the wish of the majority on the adoption of total prohibition, or a system of high license, but the power of the Assembly to pass an ordinance for taking such a vote being called into question in the course of the debate, the matter was submitted to the legal experts for decision, and they declared it *ultra vires* of the Assembly. A resolution was then adopted declaring that, in the opinion of the Assembly, a vote of the people should be taken to determine the question, and that, in the event of provision for the taking of such vote not being made by the Dominion at the next session of Parliament, powers similar to those enjoyed by Provinces under the British North America Act, in respect of the liquor question, should be forthwith granted to the Assembly.

The Committee on Agriculture recommended that the Dominion Government be memorialized on the subject of Mormon immigration, recommending that no exceptional privileges be granted to Mormons. The committee further recommended that \$5,000 of the general revenue be voted for immigration purposes, and that the Dominion Government be urged to supplement that amount by a grant of \$10,000, to be used for the salaries and travelling expenses of immigration agents, printing and distribution of pamphlets, etc., two of such agents to be located in Great Britain, and four at principal points in Eastern Canada and the United States.

Before the Assembly had been long in session, it was found that the provisions of the North-West Territories Act—the constitution of the Territories—were not in all respects satisfactory, as the powers and authority of the Assembly were restricted in several important particulars, and the duties and powers of the Advisory Council were indefinite respecting the control and expenditure of the revenue, and as to the extent of their responsibility, if any, to the Assembly in their policy of administration. A special committee, appointed to deal with the matter, drafted a memorial to the Governor-General-in-Council, concurred in by the Assembly, which set forth that, although the Assembly had been granted control of all expenditure for the current year, yet the North-West Territories Act did not clearly give that control of the moneys voted by the Dominion Government for the expenses of Government in the Territories, to which the Assembly considered themselves undoubtedly entitled. That in the absence of a permanent responsible body whose business it should be to prepare legislation for the consideration of the Assembly, their legislative functions could not be performed satisfactorily, so that the preparation of measures had to be entrusted to an irresponsible committee of the Assembly, instead of being brought down by a responsible Executive. They therefore recommended that the Parliament of Canada be moved to grant full responsible government to the Territories, with all the powers granted to Provinces by the British North America Act, excepting to raise money on the public credit.

The Territorial subsidy was found to be insufficient to defray the expenses of government, the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, and other works of a public nature, and the Assembly sent a memorial on the subject of “better

terms" to Ottawa, asking for an increase of the Dominion grant—urging that as the Territories, like Manitoba, had been deprived of their public lands, timber and minerals, they were entitled to generous consideration in respect to their annual subsidy.

The Assembly also made important suggestions to the Dominion regarding changes in the land regulations; reductions in the prices of pre-emption: the opening of odd numbered sections to homesteading: the encouragement of tree culture, and the establishment of a Dominion Lands Commission at some convenient point in the Territories. Consideration and settlement of the claims of the Half-Breeds was also recommended, and the co-operation of the Dominion officials in enforcing the provisions of the ordinance for the prevention of prairie and forest fires. The Assembly was prorogued on the 11th December, 1888, after having passed six acts, but these by no means represented the work of the session, which was occupied in debating questions of moment which the members found themselves unable to deal with, owing to the limited powers of legislation which they possessed under the constitution.

The C.P.R. had devoted considerable attention to foreign immigration, and by the end of 1888 had established several colonies on their North-Western lands: among these were New Stockholm, a Scandinavian settlement north of Whitewood: New Toulecha, near Balgonie, settled by Roumanians; Rosenthal and Josephburg, Germans and Gallacians; Wapella, Russian Jews; Fleming, Swedes; Esterhaz, Hungarians; New Finland, Finns; and Medicine River, Icelanders. These people, with few exceptions, proved to be thrifty and industrious, and soon adopted themselves to the requirements of the land of their adoption.

Early in the session of the Dominion Parliament, which assembled on 31st January, 1889, Mr. N. F. Davin enquired if it was the intention of the Government to introduce legislation conferring responsible Government upon the Territories, to which Sir John A. Macdonald replied that such was not the intention of the Government, but, later, a North-West bill was distributed in the House, which was largely a consolidation of existing measures, but increased the powers of the Assembly. Under the provisions of the bill, the Assembly would possess authorities approximating those of the Provincial Legislatures. It granted jurisdiction in the following matters:—Direct taxation for territorial or municipal purposes: the establishment and tenure of territorial offices: establishment, maintenance and management of prisons and municipal institutions in the Territories: shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer, and other licenses, in order to raise a revenue for territorial or municipal purposes: incorporation of companies, except such companies as cannot be incorporated by a Provincial Legislature, and excepting, in addition, railway, steamboat, tramway, canal, transportation, telegraph and telephone companies: the solemnization of marriage, property and civil rights in the Territories the administration of justice in the Territories, including the constitution and maintenance of courts of civil jurisdiction, but not including the power of appointing judicial officers; the imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment for violation of territorial ordinances: and all matters of a general and local character. It would, in fact, give the Legislature all the powers possessed by the Provinces, except the power to amend the Constitution, to borrow money, to manage or sell public lands, and to establish asylums or hospitals. The then existing Assembly, however, was not to deal with

the granting of licenses for the sale of intoxicants, nor with any legislation in relation to the importation, manufacture, possession, barter, sale or disposal of intoxicating liquors, until the dissolution of the Assembly should have afforded the people of the North-West an opportunity to express their opinion as to the nature of legislation on the subject. This bill, which was introduced by the Honorable Mr. Dewdney, was withdrawn before the House had had an opportunity of discussing it.

The school question was beginning to be extensively discussed in the territorial press: the following papers favoring the abolition of the existing system, and the establishment of non-sectarian schools:—*Gazette*, Macleod: *News*, Lethbridge: *Tribune*, Calgary: *Bulletin*, Edmonton: *Times*, Prince Albert: *Vidette*, Fort Qu'Appelle: *Progress*, Qu'Appelle: *Courier*, Moosomin: *Journal*, Regina.

The second session of the Assembly was opened on the 16th of October, 1888, and on the following day Mr. Cayley asked the Advisory Council if the estimates for the year 1889-90 had been made up, and if so, what was the amount, and had the same been as yet forwarded to the Government. Mr. Haultain answered that the Advisory Council had no information on the subject. A few days afterwards Mr. Cayley again questioned the Advisory Council if they had signified to the Lieutenant-Governor their wish to be allowed, as his advisors in matters of finance, to prepare, in conjunction with him, as the Advisory Council, the estimates for 1889-90, to be submitted to the Government, and to submit the same to the Assembly before being submitted to the Government. Mr. Haultain answered that the Council had not expressed such a wish, but that His Honor would, doubtless, ask their assist-

ance in the preparation of the estimates, and that the estimates being a purely departmental affair, His Honor could not consent to their publication to the Assembly, or otherwise, pending their transmission to the Minister of the Interior. These questions were preliminary to a concerted attack being made upon the financial methods, rendered necessary by the ambiguous position occupied by the Advisory Council, and their very limited power, and led to the resignation of the Council on the 29th of October. Their letter of resignation is as follows:—

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, REGINA, N.W.T.,  
29th October, 1889.

To His Honor the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR  
of the North-West Territories.

SIR—We have the honor to tender our resignations as members of your Advisory Council. We have come to this decision reluctantly, and only after serious consideration. While recognizing that Your Honor has, on the whole, carried out the position which was accepted last year, there have been some departures from that position which we cannot accept responsibility for. These matters do not involve any serious departures from the general principles adopted by us, but they do, in our opinion, involve the Council, and lay us open to censure for at least grave faults of administration. We fully appreciate the practical difficulties in the way of carrying out an anomalous system like the present, and have always been ready to make the best of an imperfect machinery. The attitude of the Assembly has not helped to lighten the burden imposed upon us. Ever ready to criticize, and always prone to judge us by the standard of the ideal system which they wished for, they have not given us that liberal support which, in the nature of things, we might reasonably have hoped for. Knowing this feeling of the Assembly, and being, with the rest of our fellow-members, jealous of the rights which were granted to us, we are naturally more sensitive to criticism than under a more completely responsible system there would be any necessity for. The constant discussions at Council meetings on the general theory of our constitution, shewed us plainly that Your Honor only conceded what we claimed as a right. While differing from Your Honor on this matter, we are ready to acknowledge the generous spirit in which Your Honor yielded control in matters which you believed were entirely within your own personal province. But in so important a matter as the construction of the act under which

we owe our existence as a Council, such a grave difference of opinion can only lead to friction, which must inevitably destroy our usefulness. We, therefore, tender our resignations, because we cannot continue to work under a system in which our most important powers are only granted to us in the form of concessions, and because we are unwilling to accept responsibility without a corresponding right of control. We believe that our withdrawal from the Council will tend to bring about a more definite understanding with regard to the various powers and authorities of the Territories, and we can assure Your Honor that our successors, if true to the general policy outlined by yourself last year, will always receive from us a loyal and generous support. In conclusion, let us assure Your Honor of our most grateful appreciation of Your Honor's personal kindness to all of us, and of the continuance of loyalty and attachment on our part.

We are,

Your Honor's obedient servants,

(Signed) F. W. G. HAULTAIN.

W. SUTHERLAND.

D. F. JELLY.

HILLYARD MITCHELL.

The resignation was accepted, and on the 5th November, His Honor announced to the Assembly that he had chosen the following gentlemen as his Advisory Council:—Robert George Brett, M.D., member for Red Deer: John Felton Betts, member for Prince Albert: David Finlay Jelly, member for North Regina, and Benjamin Parkyn Richardson, member for Wolseley. The new Council, on assuming office, had a serious difference with the Assembly on the powers, or concessions, withheld from them by the Lieutenant-Governor, and a resolution of want of confidence was adopted by a vote of 12 to 7. The Council at once tendered their resignations, but Governor Royal declined to accept them, for the reasons set forth in the following letter:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

REGINA, November 12th, 1888.

DR. R. G. BRETT, M.L.A., REGINA:

MY DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of your letter received yesterday forenoon, tendering your resignation and that of your colleagues, as members

of the Advisory Council, in consequence of the Legislative Assembly having adopted at its last meeting a resolution expressing its want of confidence in you and your colleagues, for having assumed the position contrary to the wishes of the Assembly.

The question is one of law, and having, after due consideration, requested you to assist me in carrying on the affairs of the country according to the statute, I must decline to accept your resignation, in the absence of any act shewing that you have proved yourselves unworthy of the trust reposed in you. If the regime, as established by the law, seems capable of amelioration, constitutional means may effectually be resorted to. Territorial matters alone are intended by the statutes to be placed under the control of the Assembly, and it is only in the event of you administering such affairs in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the House, that your resignation as members of the Executive, can be entertained. I have selected you in the terms of the law, and this prerogative would be very seriously impaired if you were to be denounced without waiting to see your acts. At the last session of this Assembly, I invited the representatives of the people to work cordially with the Council, in order to make the best possible form of government with the temporary and necessarily imperfect elements placed by Parliament at our disposal. It is my sincere belief that the unmistakable signs of confidence and satisfaction expressed by the country, have gone far to prove that our efforts were crowned with success. Nevertheless, the very liberal concessions made, seemed of late to have failed in satisfying the Assembly, and impossibilities, with the present machinery, appear to have been imperatively insisted upon, both by the House and the first Advisory Council, finally leading the latter to resign before their action had been constitutionally dealt with by the Assembly. Under these circumstances, no other course was left open to me but to enter within the safe lines of the law, and with the assistance of another Council, formed by another method, to administer the public affairs in full accord with the requirements of the country, and in strict agreement with the law, as I find it on the statute book. Having fully weighed all these facts and considerations, and keeping the public interests steadily in view, I regret not being able to relieve you from the grave duty which you, as loyal citizens, owe to the law and to your country.

I have the honor, etc., etc.,

(Signed,) JOSEPH ROYAL,

*Lieut.-Governor N.-W.T.*

In consequence of a majority of the Assembly refusing to consider the estimates for the year 1889-90, as submitted to

the House by the Advisory Council, on the 14th November, Mr. Brett and his fellow-members of Council again tendered their resignation, which His Honor accepted.

After the second resignation of the Brett Administration (as we may call them), His Honor endeavored to form a new Council, calling upon Mr. Thomas Tweed, member for Medicine Hat, but Mr. Tweed declined to form a Council, or accept office, unless he and his colleagues were invested with the control of the expenditure of both the Federal and Territorial funds, and he informed His Honor that no Advisory Council would possess the confidence of the Assembly, unless such control were conceded.

The radical difference of opinion which existed between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Assembly was, as we have stated, with regard to the question of the extent of the powers and responsibility of the Advisory Council. The Lieutenant-Governor held that the Assembly was not entitled to have a statement of the public accounts laid before them, shewing what disposition had been made of moneys voted during the last session of the Assembly, on the ground that the moneys thus unaccounted for were part of the Dominion vote to the Territories for 1888-89. The Assembly considered that the moneys, having been voted on estimates sent down by message of the Lieutenant-Governor, and by an ordinance of the Assembly assented to by him, should be duly accounted for to the Assembly. It was held by the Lieutenant-Governor that the Advisory Council had control, and was responsible to the Assembly with respect to Territorial revenue only, and that the words "matters of finance," in Section 13 of the North-West Territories Act, 1888, were restricted in their application to Territorial revenue exclusively; but a majority of the As-

ssembly maintained that the words of the section meant all matters of finance, including the Dominion grant or subsidy. Mr. Royal would not move from the position he had assumed: the members were equally determined to maintain the dignity of the House, and what was popularly called "the deadlock," ensued. The House refused to vote the Territorial estimates, and withdrew the powers granted to the Advisory Council under the ordinances.

The Assembly again addressed the Dominion Government on the subject of enlarging their powers by granting responsible government, urging the necessity of legislation in that direction, in view of the very unsatisfactory stage at which the affairs of the country had arrived under the existing system. They also asked for better terms, viz.:—Subsidy at the rate of 80 cents per head on an estimated population of 150,000, equal to \$120,000; interest at five per cent. on \$27.75 per head on an actual population of 160,000, equal to \$138,850; a specific grant for governmental purposes of \$50,000 annually; a specific grant on account of lack of lands of \$100,000 annually. They alleged that the Territories were entitled to a total amount subsidy on the above-mentioned propositions, of \$408,850, but that Parliament had only appropriated for expenses of Government for the current year, \$145,000, which, with the sums voted for members' indemnity, salaries, and other items properly chargeable to Provincial account, made a total subsidy of \$176,410, as against a vote of \$20,000 in 1882. This increase, they urged, went to prove that the actual necessities of the country would call for a greater amount at the end of five years under the existing arrangements than the fixed amount which they now asked for. With regard to the bill introduced at the last session of Parliament, and with-

drawn, they asked that when it should be brought up again for consideration its provisions should be amended in several particulars. That the clause providing for the sitting of legal experts with the Assembly be eliminated: that the term of the Assembly be made four instead of three years: that the Assembly be given power to deal with the franchise: that the powers proposed to be conferred on the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council should be conferred upon the Lieutenant-Governor acting by and with the advice and consent of his responsible advisers: that the Local Government should have power to appoint sheriffs and clerks of courts: that the Assembly be authorized to regulate the fees of clerks of courts: that the Local Government should have power to appoint justices of the peace, and to prescribe their qualifications: that every person charged with a criminal offence should have the right of trial by jury, if he so desired: the property in all road allowances, trails, non-navigable rivers and streams and their roadbeds, as well as power to control the same, be vested in the Territorial Government: the provisions with regard to prohibitory measures were satisfactory to the Assembly, except that the law in respect to liquor should not be amended by the Dominion Parliament, but should remain the same until the power proposed to be conferred by the bill should be exercised by the Assembly.

The Minister of the Interior was memorialized on the subject of providing a fund to be used in offering a bonus of two cents per head for gophers destroyed during the month of April, 1890, and one cent per head for those destroyed during May, 1890, as these animals had been unusually destructive during the past season. Many districts had suffered very severely from these pests, in others the crops had suffered

from drought or prairie fires, and the Minister was asked to place a sum in the estimates for the purpose of supplying seed, grain and potatoes to farmers who required aid. The recommendations regarding pre-emptions and second homesteads, which had been urged in a former memorial, were repeated; also that a plan be adopted for the encouragement of tree planting. A petition, addressed to the Governor-General, Senate, and House of Commons, was transmitted, asking that Section 110 of the North-West Territories Act, providing for the printing of the Ordinances, Votes and Proceedings, and other public documents, in the French language, be repealed.

A resolution was adopted asking for the repeal of Sub-section 1 of Section 14 of the North-West Territories Act, which would enable the Assembly to legislate in matters of education, and to abolish the separate school system, if such action should be deemed advisable.

The Assembly asked the Dominion Government to set apart a grant of land in each of the Provincial Districts for University purposes.

In proroguing the Assembly, on the 22nd of November, Lieutenant-Governor Royal said: "The various incidents which followed the resignation of my first Advisory Council, the attitude assumed by a majority of the members, and the earnest desire of all that the business of the country should not suffer in consequence, are circumstances which will tend to mark this session as an historical one. I earnestly hope that the proceedings of the Assembly may result favorably for the peace, order, and prosperity of the North-West Territories."

The political situation did not improve during the recess. The Lieutenant-Governor chose an Advisory Council from amongst those members of the Assembly, to quote his own

words, "who were ready to comply with the law, irrespective of the fact whether they possessed the confidence of the House or not." The Council thus chosen consisted of Messrs. Brett, Belts, Jelly and Secord. When the Assembly met on 29th October, 1890, the members signified their disapproval of His Honor's course in appointing, and that of the Advisory Council in accepting office, contrary to the wishes of the majority, by ignoring those gentlemen when striking the select standing committees. In the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, the Assembly regretted the differences which existed between a large majority of the Assembly and His Honor, and the scant attention paid by the Ottawa authorities to the memorials and petitions forwarded to them, and the disallowance of three important Ordinances, viz.: Protection of Game; the Legal Profession; and an amendment to the Interpretation Ordinance. The latter provided that the Assembly should have power to select two of its members to hold office until their successors should be appointed, to act, with the Lieutenant-Governor, as an Executive Council, and exercise control over legislation and expenditure of the revenues. This amendment was disallowed for the following stated reasons: It was inconsistent with the North-West Territories Act, inasmuch as the Ordinance required the Advisory Council to be appointed by the Assembly, while the act vested the appointment in the Lieutenant-Governor. The Ordinance required the Council to consist of two members; the act required four. The Ordinance required the consent of both members of the Council to every act of the Lieutenant-Governor; the act implied that the Lieutenant-Governor might act on the advice of a majority, because it gave him a vote in the Council, and the casting vote also in case of a tie. The tenure of

office prescribed by the Ordinance was the pleasure of the Assembly, while that prescribed by the act was the pleasure of the Lieutenant-Governor. It was therefore held, by Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice, that the Ordinance was not such as the Assembly was empowered to make, in view of the provisions of Section 13 of the North-West Territories Act, which provided that "no such Ordinance shall be so made which is inconsistent with, or alters, or repeals, any provision of any act of the Parliament of Canada, in force in the Territories." The Ordinance for the Protection of Game was disallowed, because it conflicted with the rights and privileges granted to the Indians by treaty. The Ordinance relating to the Legal Profession was disallowed, because under its provisions none but a permanent resident member of the legal profession could practise before the Territorial Courts, no matter what his qualifications or standing at the Bar of any other Province might be. Thus, access to the Supreme Court of the Territories, a court organized and established by the Parliament of Canada, was denied to all practitioners in Canada who did not reside permanently in the Territories.

The Address deprecated His Honor's omission of any explanation, in the Speech, of the circumstances which led to his selection and retention in office of an Advisory Council not in accord with, or possessing the confidence of, the majority of the Assembly, and his failure to submit a definition of the measure of control, if any, possessed by the Assembly over the acts of the Executive. Under the circumstances, the Assembly assumed their rights to such as the North-West Territories Act, and constitutional usage, having the force of law, appeared to give them. They believed in the right of the ma-

jority, not only to pass legislation, but to advise and control in the matter of giving it effect—that the North-West Territories Act, interpreted in the light of constitutional usage, provided for the control of the Executive by an Advisory Council having the confidence of a majority of the House; that the assumption of such control by any members not possessing the confidence of the House was a violation of the spirit and intent of the North-West Territories Act, and an infringement upon the rights of the House, against which they solemnly protested. To vindicate the rights of the majority, they deemed it their duty to refuse all legislation and motions offered by the Advisory Council. While acknowledging the fact that no motion regarding finance could be adopted by the House without having been recommended by message from the Lieutenant-Governor—and that the power of initiating financial legislation was vested solely in the Advisory Council—they held that the power to act upon such recommendation or pass such legislation unquestionably rested with the majority of the Assembly.

They based this opinion on Section 14 of the North-West Territories Act, which reads as follows:—"The Legislative Assembly shall not adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address or bill for the appropriation of any part of the public revenue, or of any tax or impost, to any purpose that has not first been recommended to the Assembly by message of the Lieutenant-Governor, in the session in which such vote, resolution, address or bill is proposed."

It was impossible for the Assembly to legislate on many subjects that would not involve the question of finance, and in the existing state of affairs their proceedings were seriously hampered. This was particularly the case with regard to

schools. The members did not wish to assume the responsibility of legislating in educational matters, while deprived of the control of the fund necessary to give effect to their acts, and they intimated to the Lieutenant-Governor that they would be compelled, not only to refrain from passing further measures in respect to schools, but to so amend the existing ordinances as to throw the entire responsibility of administering the school moneys, and the management of the school system, on his shoulders. His Honor replied that His Excellency the Governor-in-Council had for many years assumed, without question, the direct control of the expenditure of the moneys annually voted by the Parliament of Canada for school purposes in the Territories, and which formed part of the fund, the control of the expenditure of which was claimed by a majority of the House, and intimated that he would continue to control the expenditure without reference to the wishes of the majority, his construction of the statute, Orders-in-Council, and Ordinances, authorizing him to persevere in such course of action.

A motion requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to discontinue the permission of the sale of beer, was defeated on a vote of 18 to 2. A great deal of time was spent in discussing the unsatisfactory results of the immigration scheme formulated at the previous session, which had not accomplished the good that was anticipated, though it involved the country in considerable expense.

The session adjourned on the 29th November, 1890, and the Assembly was dissolved by afflux of time in June following.

The Dominion general elections, held on 5th March, 1891, resulted as follows :—

Alberta—D. W. Davis, Conservative	- - - -	2,742
James Reilly, “	- - - -	935

Davis' majority, 1,807.

Assiniboia, E.—Hon. E. Dewdney, Conservative	-	2,049
J. G. Turriff, Liberal	- - - -	1,293

Dewdney's majority, 754.

Assiniboia, W.—N. F. Davin, Conservative	- -	1,011
Thomas Tweed, Liberal	- - - -	684

Davin's majority, 327.

Saskatchewan—D. H. Macdowell, Conservative	-	920
H. J. Montgomery, Liberal	- -	631

Macdowell's majority, 289.

In May, 1891, Messrs. Brett and Betts, of the Advisory Board, went to Ottawa to confer with the Government on North-West affairs, and to urge certain amendments to the constitution, so as to give the Assembly absolute control of all funds, to make the Advisory Council responsible to the Assembly for the expenditure of the revenue, and to grant the Lieutenant-Governor the power to dissolve the House, in fact, to grant a full measure of responsible government. The North-West senators and members—Senators Loughhead and Perley, and Messrs. Davin, Davis, Macdowell, and Hon. E. Dewdney—took part in the conference, and a majority of the Territorial representatives in Parliament opposed the proposed changes until such time as the country was divided into Provinces, contending that in the meantime, although the members of the Assembly were in favor of responsible Government, the people did not desire it. An act to amend the existing acts respecting the government of the North-West Territories was introduced during the Dominion session of 1891, by Hon. E. Dewdney, and passed both houses. This act

gave the Lieutenant-Governor power to dissolve the Assembly and cause a new election. The Assembly was given power to make all laws and regulations, including the ballot system, necessary in the conduct of elections; to legislate in respect to direct taxation for territorial, municipal, and local purposes: municipal institutions; regulation of the liquor traffic; shop, saloon, and other licenses; administration of justice; "the expenditure of territorial funds, and such portion of any moneys appropriated by Parliament for the Territories as the Lieutenant-Governor is authorized to expend, by and with the advice of the Legislative Assembly, or of any committee thereof." The Assembly were given power to sit apart from the Lieutenant-Governor, who should assent to bills, or reserve them for the assent of the Governor-General. They were given power to alter the boundaries of electoral districts in their discretion. The measure of self-government thus granted was nearly as great as that enjoyed by the Provinces, the material difference being the control by the Lieutenant-Governor of a portion of the Dominion subsidy. The number of members of the Assembly was fixed at twenty-six.

During the session of 1890, Mr. N. F. Davin had formulated charges reflecting on the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Herchmer, in the office of Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police. The charges had been investigated by Comptroller White, but owing to the absence of witnesses, and other circumstances, Mr. White's report was not a complete answer to the charges. In 1891, Mr. Davin renewed the charges and, in addition, accused the Commissioner of having taken a partizan interest in the last Dominion election, and using his influence with the officers and men of the force to defeat Mr. Davin. The charges were made the subject of a

judicial enquiry before Justice Wetmore, who made a searching investigation, examining witnesses at Regina, Calgary, McLeod, and other points. The report of the investigation was laid before Parliament in March, 1893. Several charges were reported as proved, either in part or in whole, but the Judge made many qualifications regarding most of his findings. Some of the charges were struck out, withdrawn, or not proved as laid. The outcome of the enquiry, while not a vindication of the Commissioner, was sufficiently favorable to him to justify the Government in retaining his services, and it had the effect of improving the interior economic conditions of the force.

The elections for the new Assembly took place on the 5th of November, 1891. The main issue of the campaign was the liquor question. The people were divided between prohibitionists and those in favor of the liquor trade regulated by license, and the latter succeeded in returning a majority of members.

In opening the Legislature on 10th December, Lieut-Governor Royal congratulated the members on the increased powers conferred upon them, and of the progress towards development that had been accomplished by the completion of the Calgary and Edmonton railway, and the building of the line from Calgary to McLeod. Mr. James H. Ross, member for Moose Jaw, was elected Speaker. For several days after the assembling of the House, the members held caucuses to discuss the form of government which the new constitution empowered them to adopt. The result of their deliberations was the introduction and passage of three acts entitled, respectively, "An Ordinance respecting the Executive Government of the Territories," "An Ordinance to amend the Interpretation

Ordinance," and "An Ordinance respecting Revenue and Expenditure." The two last mentioned were merely to harmonize the existing Ordinances with the new order of things. The first-named provided :—

Clause 1. There shall be a committee to aid and advise in the Government of the Territories, so far as the same is vested in the Lieutenant-Governor and the Legislative Assembly of the Territories, by any act of the Parliament, or Order-in-Council of Canada, to be styled "The Executive Committee of the Territories," to consist of not less than four persons, and the persons who are to be members of that committee shall be from time to time chosen and summoned by the Lieutenant-Governor from the members of the Legislative Assembly for the time being, and sworn in, and shall severally hold office during pleasure.

Clause 2. No members of such Executive Committee, by reason of his office, or by reason of accepting any salary, wages or emolument pertaining to the same, shall be disqualified from sitting and voting in the Legislative Assembly.

Early in the session, Lieutenant-Governor Royal sent a message to the Assembly, transmitting a copy of an Order-in-Council, which virtually conceded to the Assembly what they had so long contended for—the control of funds voted from Ottawa for the government of the Territories. The Order-in-Council stated that on the advice of the Minister of the Interior, it was considered advisable to transfer to the Assembly the following accounts :—Travelling expenses of officials, \$2,000 ; costs of election, \$1,000 ; stationery, etc., \$2,000 ; newspapers, \$700 ; management of four well-boring machines, \$3,000 ; schools (less \$5,000 for schools in unrepresented territory), \$95,000 ; roads and bridges, \$35,000 ; printing, translating, advertising, etc., \$7,000 ; publication of magistrates' returns, \$1,500 ; library, \$1,600.

On 31st December, the new Government of the Territories was announced to the Assembly as consisting of Messrs. Haultain, Premier ; Clinkskill, Neff, and Tweed. A Licence Ordin

ance, under which hotel and wholesale or shop licenses, to sell intoxicating liquors, might be granted, was passed at this session. The Ordinance provided for local option in districts where a majority of the residents voted against licenses being granted. A special committee was struck to prepare a report on irrigation, to be transmitted to the Dominion Government, with a request that action should be taken towards adopting a system of irrigation. A new School Ordinance was passed, under which the former system of school management was considerably altered. It provided that all schools should be inspected by the same officials, instead of by Catholic and Protestant inspectors; board of education to hold office during pleasure of the Government: examination of teachers to be conducted by a general board of examiners appointed by the Executive, but each section of the board to have power to appoint separate examiners for special subjects. The bill was opposed by Mr. Antonio Prince, who wished to have separate inspectors for Protestant and Catholic schools, and moved an amendment to that effect. He was seconded by Mr. Clinkskill, who signified his intention of resigning from the Executive Committee if the Ordinance was passed, as originally introduced. The amendment was lost, and the Ordinance passed its third reading by a vote of 10 to 5, several members being absent when the vote was taken.

When the estimates for the current half year were brought down, it was found that there was a deficit of some \$21,000, which it was proposed to make up by a request for an increase of subsidy. The expenditures estimated aggregated \$87,110.-46; the principal items being schools, \$47,803; roads and bridges, \$24,382; aid to hospitals at Medicine Hat, Calgary, St. Albert, \$900. A memorial was prepared on the subject of

the Dominion grants for the Government of the Territories, in which it was argued that the subsidy should be fixed at so much annually for four years, after which another census should be taken. Taking the population at that time at 67,500, and the mean population for the next four years at 125,000, which, estimated at 80 cents per head, would yield \$100,000. On debt account, the Territories were entitled to 5 per cent. interest on \$27.77 per head of 67,500, equal to \$93,723.25. A special grant, equal to Manitoba, \$50,000, and a specific grant, in lieu of lands, \$125,000, making in all \$368,728.75. A resolution was adopted, on a division of 24 votes to 4, that thereafter the journals of the House should be printed in English only. The Assembly was prorogued on the 25th January, after having passed several measures, the more important of which we have noted.

Mr. Clinkskill, having resigned as a member of the Executive Committee, Mr. Cayley, of Calgary, was chosen by Premier Haultain to replace him.

In consequence of the memorials adopted by the Assembly in regard to the annual appropriations granted by the Dominion to the Territories, Mr. Haultain was invited to Ottawa in March, 1892, to confer with the Government. On his arrival at Ottawa, a sub-committee of the Privy Council was appointed to confer with him on the subject matter of the Assembly and Executive Committee memorials. As a result of the conference, the sub-committee recommended a grant by way of subsidy, to the Territories, of \$250,000, in addition to provision by separate rates, for those special services administered by the departments of Justice and the Interior, as well as for the office of the Lieutenant-Governor, and the statutory expenditure under the North-West Territories Act; making

in all a total rate of over \$300,000 or within \$50,000 of the subsidy claimed by the Assembly. This recommendation was not entertained by the Privy Council, but subsequently they granted the lump sum of \$193,200—an increase of over \$50,000.

A large deputation of North-West cattle ranchers waited upon the Minister of the Interior early in March, 1892, and represented that if the Government proposed to circumscribe the ranch leases it would mean a heavy loss to the ranchers and to the country, as well as being contrary to the understanding had with Sir John Macdonald, who was Minister of the Interior at the time the leases were granted. This action was taken as a defence against the applications of persons who had squatted on lands leased to cattle raisers, and who were petitioning the Government to rescind the leases and throw the lands open to homesteading. In April, a notice was published to all Half-Breeds and original white settlers in the North-West entitled to scrip, to file their claims, with proofs, on or before the 1st of May, 1894, otherwise their claims should cease and determine. This was a final settlement of the long-disputed question which had caused so much ill feeling and trouble.

Mr. D'Alton McCarthy introduced a bill in the Dominion House to amend the North-West Territories Act, so as to give full power to the North-West Assembly to deal with education and the official use of the French language, which was defeated on the motion for a second reading, by 132 votes to 33. The Lands Act was amended by extending the time for second homesteading for two years, and allowing homesteaders to reside on their original homesteads while cultivating their second homesteads adjoining the first. A bill to provide for the appointment of stipendiary magistrates in the Territories by

the Lieutenant-Governor, introduced at this session, was allowed to drop, also an amendment by Mr. Davin, that the Assembly be granted power to charter local insurance companies.

The second session of the Legislative Assembly was opened on the 2nd August, 1892. The session was called thus early, to enable provision to be made for carrying on the public service. Mr. Charles E. Boucher took his seat for Batoche, *vice* Nolin, who had been unseated on account of fraudulent votes having been cast for him. Mr. Daniel Mowat introduced an ordinance amending and consolidating the School Ordinance, which provided that English should be taught in all the schools; the introduction of the kindergarten system; that a uniform series of text books should be used, and that both Protestant and Catholic inspectors might inspect them; it also disqualified all clergymen from holding office as school inspectors, trustees, or teachers. Amendments to the Liquor License Ordinance were proposed, in regard to the least quantity of liquor to be sold under a wholesale license. The quantity was increased from one-half gallon, or one-half dozen pint bottles, to one gallon, or one dozen pints.

An Order-in-Council, dated 25th July, 1892, was received from Ottawa, announcing that the moneys appropriated for the purposes of government in the Territories, to the amount of \$193,000, had been transferred to the Lieutenant-Governor to be disbursed, "by and with the consent of the Legislative Assembly, or any committee thereof."

When Mr. Haultain concluded his budget speech, on the 24th, in which he embodied the results of his negotiations at Ottawa, and the securing of better terms from the Dominion Government, Mr. Betts, seconded by Mr. Mowat, moved a vote of want of confidence in the Executive Committee. He

accused the Premier with partiality in choosing the members of the Executive, in ignoring the members of the Saskatchewan district. His amendment to the motion to go into supply, was: "That the conduct of the Executive in regard to the representation of Saskatchewan, and, in all respects, has been such as to destroy the confidence of the House."

The debate which followed sparkled with brilliant flights of invective, and bristled with bitter personalities, which would have honored the proverbial fish-market. One member compared certain of his confrères to "vipers, who, when warmed, had turned on their benefactor and stung him to death." A division was reached at two o'clock, a.m., the debate having lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon previous, and the amendment was carried by the following vote:—Yeas—Betts, McKay, Myers, Reaman, Mowat, Brett, Boucher, Prince, Cayley (member Executive Committee), Linahan, Davidson, Clinkskill, Jelley.—13.

Nays—Page, Knowling, Neff, Dill, Mitchell, Haultain, Tweed, Oliver, Wilkins, Campbell, Sutherland, Magrath.—12.

A new Executive, consisting of Messrs. H. S. Cayley, Thomas McKay, Daniel Mowat, and Joel Reaman, was formed on the 27th August. On 30th August, Speaker Ross resigned his office, as a protest against the defeat of Mr. Haultain and his colleagues, and his example was immediately followed by the Deputy-Speaker, Mr. Sutherland. The resignation of the Speaker created a deadlock, as his vote, added to that of the Haultain faction, would exactly equalize the parties in the House. The House being left without a presiding officer, the members dispersed. When the House met on the following day, all the members being present, Mr. Cayley moved, seconded by Mr. McKay, that Mr. William Sutherland be elected

Speaker. The House divided on the motion, standing thirteen for and thirteen against, and the members again dispersed, without having transacted any business. On the 1st August, Lieutenant-Governor Royal prorogued the Assembly by proclamation. Haultain and his friends held a caucus, at which the following manifesto was prepared and telegraphed to the Dominion Government:—

The Assembly was prorogued by proclamation, in an extra of the *North-West Territories Gazette*, this morning. Thirteen members of the Opposition object to prorogation.

First—Because, being done on the advice of an Executive which was unable to transact the business of the House, it is a violation of the North-West Act, as defined by constitutional law and usage.

Second—Because its effect is to commit the administration of the affairs of the Territories, until next session, into the hands of the Executive, which clearly does not possess the confidence of a majority of the House, and, therefore, is not entitled to administer the public affairs of the Territories.

Third—Because its effect is to kill, until next session, a larger part of the legislation which came before the House this session, including important private as well as public bills; of which bills those to provide for a more economical and efficient school system, and to provide for the ballot vote at elections to the North-West Assembly, were measures of urgency, and were supported by a large majority of the House.

Fourth—Because it prevents the Opposition from formally making a charge of an attempt to bribe a member of the Opposition by a member of the present Executive, which charge they were prepared to make at the opening of the House to-day, and could only be prevented from making by prorogation without a sitting of the House.

Fifth—Because there was no necessity for such a hasty prorogation on any public grounds, and though the Executive on their first attempt to do so, failed to elect a Speaker yesterday, having nominated a member of the Opposition who had distinctly refused to accept the position, and, therefore no business could be transacted on that day; this morning, at 11 a.m., Messrs. Haultain, Tweed, and Magrath, waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor, and informed him that the Opposition were willing that Mr. Magrath should be elected Speaker, in order that legislation before the House might be completed. They were then informed by His Honor that the House had already been prorogued by proclamation.

Sixth—Because of the action taken by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, as above recited, we, the undersigned members of the North-West Assembly, specifically charge Honorable Joseph Royal, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, with having taken the position of a political partizan by his action in thus unnecessarily and unjustifiably proroguing the House, to the injury of public business, and in defiance of constitutional law and usage.

Signed by F. W. G. Haultain, MacLeod ; Thos. Tweed, Medicine Hat ; J. R. Neff, Moosomin ; Hillyard Mitchell, Mitchell ; G. H. Knowling, Souris ; James P. Dill, Wolseley ; W. Sutherland, Fort Qu'Appelle ; Frank Oliver, Edmonton ; Spencer Page, Cannington ; James H. Ross, Moose Jaw ; D. A. Campbell, Whitewood ; C. A. Magrath, Lethbridge ; Francis E. Wilkins, Red Deer.

The situation looked decidedly serious, for the sixth clause of the Ordinance, respecting the revenue, provided that unless the general revenue fund was appropriated by the Ordinance, Act of Parliament, or order of Governor-General-in-Council, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, might, from time to time, appropriate the said fund, or any portion thereof, for any purpose of public utility in the Territories, and present a statement of such expenditure to the Legislative Assembly, within the first ten days of the session following such expenditure. Thus, the Executive had absolute control of the public funds, amounting to \$300,000, to dispose of as they might see fit.

As an outcome of the crisis, Mr. Daniel Mowat preferred a charge of criminal libel against Mr. W. Sutherland, the former Deputy Speaker ; the libel complained of was to the effect that Sutherland had made a statutory declaration, in which he falsely accused Mowat of having offered to place the sum of \$260 in the estimates, if Sutherland would vote for and support the Executive Committee in the Assembly. At the preliminary investigation, Mr. Sutherland was committed for trial, being admitted to bail in a nominal amount, but the prosecution was dropped before the sitting of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Mowat also entered a civil action against Mr. Haultain for defamation of character, laying his damages at \$5,000.

After the excitement caused by the defeat of the Haultain Administration, and the subsequent bluster and turmoil had subsided, the public began to regard the whole affair as a political comedy, in which the actors had assumed rôles that did not redound to their common sense or dignity, and which was likely to cost the spectators more than the entertainment was worth.

Mr. Cayley and his colleagues set about the administration of affairs as calmly as if they possessed the unanimous confidence of the country, and prepared estimates for the current year's expenditure, which shewed the estimated receipts to be \$308,704.24, and the estimated expenditure the same amount.

The Calgary and Edmonton Railway was completed on the 10th September, and regular train service was inaugurated between Calgary and McLeod. The attempt of the railway company to build a new town, to the detriment of McLeod, was resented by the people of that town, and resulted in the failure of the project.

For several years, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had granted three passes to the eastern provinces and return, to each member of the Assembly, with the understanding that the passes should be used by persons to visit their old homes in the east, and secure immigration by holding meetings and distributing information relating to the North-West. The idea was an excellent one if it had been carried out in its integrity, but in many cases the privilege was used for mere personal convenience, and its original purpose lost sight of. It was found necessary to adopt a system of supervision to prevent further abuse of the privilege, and in the autumn of

1892, the North-West Executive opened an Immigration Bureau in Toronto, where an officer was placed in attendance, who should have charge of directing the movements of the seventy-eight volunteer immigration agents. Each holder of a pass was to report to the Toronto office in advance, in regard to his proposed operations, and the general agent was to assist each individual's work by distributing appropriate literature and paving the way for him in the district chosen as the field of his labors.

An election was held in Wallace on the 13th November, to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Reaman's death. The candidates were Mr. McNutt, who favored the Cayley administration, and Frederick R. Insinger, Oppositionist, the latter being returned by a majority of 170 votes. Hon. E. Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, having resigned his portfolio, and accepted the Lieutenant-Governorship of British Columbia, a vacancy was caused in Eastern Assiniboia. An election was held in the constituency on the 21st November, and Mr. W. W. McDonald, Conservative, was returned by acclamation.

The third session of the second North-West Assembly was opened on 8th December, 1892. Mr. J. H. Ross was elected Speaker, with Mr. W. Sutherland as deputy, and the resignations of Mr. Cayley and other members of the Executive were announced. The School Ordinance was again introduced by Mr. Mowat. A resolution constituting Messrs. Haultain, Tweed, Neff, and Mitchell, the Executive Committee, was adopted, after a short debate, by a vote of fourteen to eleven. The Ordinance respecting the Executive having been found to conflict in a measure with the provisions of the North-West Territories Act, it was referred to the Assembly with a recommendation of the Minister of Justice, that it should be so

amended as to bring it within the intention of the constitutional act. In order to harmonize the Territorial with the Federal law, the Ordinance was repealed by the Assembly, and a new Ordinance respecting expenditure substituted. The new law gave the Executive powers in precisely the wording of the Territories Act. An Ordinance was passed empowering the taxation of railway property. The School Ordinance was passed with a number of amendments, also an Ordinance exempting church property from taxation. A clause in the School Ordinance provided that whenever three-fourths of the ratepayers in any school district so decided, all the taxable land in the district should be assessed at a uniform figure. Unimproved land to bear the same taxation as improved land, and no assessment to be levied on buildings or other improvements. The maximum rate of taxation to be two per cent. The grant to all schools was increased to \$420, and the per capita grant reduced from \$20 to \$18. Mr. Haultain deprecated the system in vogue of voting aid to local public works, and entrusting the expenditure to the member for the district; the principle was bad, and he asked the House to assist in abolishing it at the next session. An Ordinance to establish the ballot system of voting at elections was passed unanimously amid applause. The Assembly was prorogued on 31st December, having held three sessions within twelve months.

The opening of the Red Deer district by the completion of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, caused a considerable influx of immigration to that favored section during 1892. During the year, 4,948 homestead entries were recorded, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company made 1,632 sales, principally to actual settlers. The population of the North-West was largely increased, and the variety of nationalities

represented were English (predominating), Scotch, Irish, French, Belgians, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Swedes, Danes, Icelanders, Poles, Roumanians. The United States contributed 513 families, and the Eastern Provinces 2,700.

During the Ottawa session of 1893, Mr. Davin strongly urged the removal of the duty from binder twine, which, he contended, was a hardship to the farmers of Manitoba and the North-West. He had advocated the concession at former sessions, and, assisted by other North-West members, he succeeded in having the tax reduced by one-half. Mr. Davin also asked for the abolition or reduction of duties on barbed wire, agricultural implements, coal oil and cotton. A revision of duties on the articles mentioned was promised by the Minister of Finance at the next session. The exemption from duty of mining machinery, not manufactured in Canada, was extended for three years.

Premier Haultain renewed his application for better terms, and a readjustment of accounts between the Dominion and the Territories, and had several conferences with the Ministers, who promised to give the matter consideration. Mr. McCarthy gave notice in the Commons of a motion to amend the North-West Territories Act in respect to schools and the French language, but his motion was not reached when the House prorogued.

The difficulty with the North-West ranchers was arranged by Honorable Mr. Daly, in the spring of 1893. The terms with the leaseholders were satisfactory to all the parties interested. All outstanding leases were cancelled, and the cattlemen were given the privilege of purchasing ten per cent. of their holdings at the rate of \$1.25 per acre. This arrange-

ment threw open a large area of land to settlement, and did not disturb the ranchers to any appreciable extent.

The distribution of settlement over so large an area necessitated the subdivision of additional townships every year, and in 1893 no less than 2,928,640 acres were surveyed in the Territories, an increase of 1,533,440 acres over 1892.

Owing to the existence of cattle disease in the border States, extra quarantine stations were established at points on the international boundary, and the regulations regarding importation of cattle were rigidly enforced during the summer of 1893. Notices were issued by the Indian Department that, after the 1st January, 1894, the game laws in force in the Territories should apply to the Indians on all the reserves south of the North Saskatchewan River. This order affected about two-thirds of the Indians of the Territories, and was made in their interests, as their exemption from the regulations encouraged them to kill game indiscriminately at all seasons, and was resulting in the extermination of one of their principal food supplies.

A deputation, consisting of Mr. Davis, M.P. for Alberta; Mayor Bentley, of Lethbridge; Mayor Lucas, of Calgary; and Mayor McCarthy, of Edmonton, waited upon the Minister of the Interior for the purpose of arranging facilities for immigrants coming into the North-West from Washington, Idaho, and Oregon, the encouragement of sheep farming, and aid to irrigation companies.

The Legislature assembled again for its fourth session on 17th August, 1893. In his opening speech, Lieutenant-Governor Royal expressed satisfaction at the successful working of the Liquor Ordinance, and the increasing importance of the dairy industry. In moving to go into supply, Premier Haul-

tain explained the position of the House and the Executive in respect to the expenditures. The Dominion vote had not been increased in accordance with the country's needs, which was, to a great extent, owing to the manner in which the Dominion estimates were prepared. It might have been expected that the Executive Committee would have been consulted, but unfortunately the Lieutenant-Governor had not sought the advice of his responsible advisers. The Lieutenant-Governor had sent estimates to Ottawa absolutely without the knowledge of the Executive Committee. The Committee found that the estimates had been forwarded to Ottawa, and made a formal recommendation to the Federal Government on the needs of the country. Their memorial embodied the memorial passed by the House, praying for a lump vote, and stated that the Lieutenant-Governor's estimates did not express the needs of the country, and were only prepared from the estimates passed by the Assembly, which were, of necessity, limited by the amount available. The country had obtained three distinct advances in financial control, and had arrived at last at complete control of the money voted. The two main items of the vote were education, and roads and bridges, which were the prime needs of the country. Under the existing educational system, a larger portion of the vote was given to primary schools than in any of the Provinces; they received about fifty per cent. of the expenditure, as against twenty-five per cent. in Manitoba. The Territories had obtained a common inspectorate, a common examination and qualification of teachers, an almost completely uniform system of text books, and all these results had been obtained practically without friction.

An Ordinance to regulate mining was passed, practically the same as the British Columbia Mining Act. Other import-

ant Ordinances passed at this session were: Respecting the revenue and expenditure, drafted on the same terms as the Provincial and Dominion Acts, and greatly limiting the power of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council in expenditure not previously voted by the Assembly; respecting statistics; respecting public parks; for preventing the exportation of liquor into the Athabasca district. The Dominion Government were memorialized on the subject of passing an exemption act, similar to that in force in Manitoba, exempting the homestead, and also town property to the extent of \$1,500; also, that the ballot system be extended to the Territories in Dominion elections. A bill to establish the single tax system throughout the Territories was defeated. Several amendments were made to existing Ordinances, and the House was prorogued on 16th September.

Hon. Joseph Royal's term of office having expired, he was succeeded by Mr. Charles H. Mackintosh, a prominent journalist, at Ottawa. The new Lieutenant-Governor was heartily welcomed to the Territorial capital, where he arrived on 11th November, 1893. An address of welcome from the City Council, and a public reception tendered by the citizens, marked their appreciation of his advent among them.

During the autumn of 1893, Hon. George E. Foster, Minister of Finance, and Hon. A. R. Angers, Minister of Agriculture, visited Manitoba and the Territories, and held a series of meetings for the purpose of learning the views of the people on the trade policy of the Dominion Government.

The member for Whitewood having been expelled from the House as a fugitive from justice, at the last session, an election was held in that constituency on the 16th January, 1894. The following were nominated: J. Clementson, Broadview:

J. Sumner, Sumner: Allan B. Potter, Montgomery; William T. Clements, Fairmede. This was the first election held under the ballot system. Mr. J. Clementson headed the polls by a plurality over his opponents. An incident of this election is worthy of record. Under the territorial ballot system, the ballot papers were perfectly blank—the names of the candidates were not printed, as under other systems—but each candidate was assigned a distinguishing color, and the voter marked his ballot with the color of his choice. In the White-wood contest, Clementson's color was green: Potter's, black: Clements', red, and Sumner's, blue. At one polling station, the returning officer had neglected to furnish a sufficient assortment of colored pencils, and a messenger had to ride thirty miles, through a snow storm, to procure one green pencil.

Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh was no sooner installed in office than he looked about for some method by which the resources of the North-West could best be advertised to the world. Consultation with his advisers determined him to carry out a plan which he had in contemplation, and a grand Territorial Industrial Exhibition was decided upon, to be held at Regina during the summer of 1895. The plan, carried out under the able supervision of Mr. Mackintosh, cannot fail to benefit the country materially—especially if a large attendance of foreign visitors can be secured, and indications point to that desideratum being accomplished. The project met with hearty support from all parts of the Territories, and His Honor was highly complimented for his foresight and enterprise.

The Earl of Aberdeen was appointed Governor-General of Canada in May, 1893, and assumed office on the 18th Septem-

ber following. In September, 1894, His Excellency, accompanied by his Countess, visited the North-West. The illustrious pair were not strangers to the country or the people, for they had made a tour of the Dominion on a former occasion, and had won the esteem and affection of all classes by their urbanity, and the genuine interest which they manifested in all things Canadian. It is needless to say, then, that their official visit was made the occasion of more than a mere perfunctory series of formal receptions at the various points which they visited. Their progress through the country, from Winnipeg to the Pacific coast, was made a round of general rejoicing and public holiday-making, which must have been as gratifying to the vice-regal visitors as it was sincere and spontaneous. Like the Earl of Dufferin and his amiable lady, the Aberdeens entered heartily into the spirit of their welcoming, and evinced a knowledge of, and interest in, the social life of the country that completely captivated the people.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS OF MANITOBA

IN the chapter devoted to an account of the Greenway Administration, we endeavored to shew the Provincial Government side of the school question. We now propose to place before our readers the views of the Catholic minority in regard to this much disputed subject.

The late Archbishop Taché, in a series of letters to the *Manitoba Free Press*, which were afterwards published in pamphlet form, ably defended the cause of the Catholic schools in the North-West, and in his introductory, made use of the following words:—"I am of those who think that a question is solved, only when it is settled with justice and equity. I am not an admirer of subtile legal technicalities nor of skilful combinations in the art of expedients: therefore I am far from believing that the Manitoba school question is settled, or that injustice is to put an end to it: that conviction is my reason for believing that the cause must again be studied even in its minutest details, in order that those who wish to appreciate it may make a full examination into the subject."

The Archbishop's words were prophetic, because at this time of writing the question is by no means settled, and there is every probability that before it is finally disposed of much controversy and possibly angry disputes will be indulged in by both sides. The Catholic clergy were certainly the first to

establish schools in the North-West, for we find that in 1818 Bishop Plessis, of Quebec, issued a series of instructions to govern the missionaries who were about to be sent to the Hudson's Bay country to labor among the Indians, and from these we extract the following clauses :—

Missionaries will take a particular care of Christian education among children, and for this they will establish schools and catechisms in all the localities they may have occasion to visit.

and again—

The missionaries will establish their home near Fort Douglas on the Red River, will build there a church, a house, a school. For their support they will take the most advantageous way to utilize the lands that will be given them.

In 1818, Messrs. Provencher and Dumoulin were sent to the North-West, and, in obedience to the instructions issued to them, established the first school at St. Boniface. These missionaries not only had the countenance and support of the Governor-General of Canada in their work, but also the confidence and aid of the Hudson's Bay Company. That they were worthy of the trust reposed in them by the representative of His Majesty the King of Great Britain may be judged by another quotation from the instructions issued to them by Bishop Plessis, as follows :—

The missionaries will make known to the people the advantages they enjoy in remaining under the Government of His British Majesty ; will teach them by words and example the respect and fidelity they should have for the sovereign ; will accustom them to offer to God fervent prayers for the prosperity of His Most Gracious Majesty, of his august family, and his empire.

As early as 1816, Lord Selkirk urged the Catholic church to send missionaries to Red River, for the double purpose of teaching the gospel to the people and establishing schools for

the young. In 1817, His Lordship visited the settlement, and on that occasion set apart one block of land for a Catholic, and another for a Protestant school, thus countenancing and assisting denominational instruction. Indeed, Lord Selkirk, in 1817, endorsed a petition to the Bishop of Quebec for a Catholic school at Red River, and it was in answer to it that Messrs. Provencher and Dumoulin were sent in 1818. In 1820, Rev. Mr. West arrived in the country, and began the work of establishing Protestant schools, and thus the separate school system was commenced.

The Hudson's Bay Company, after regaining possession of their lands from the estate of Lord Selkirk, recognized the claims of both Catholic and Protestant schools, and rendered to each a generous assistance.

The Catholic schools of that time were built on land donated by the company, so were the Protestant schools. In 1825, in the council meeting held at York Factory, the following resolution was moved by Sir George Simpson, the Governor:—

Great benefit being experienced from the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of the Catholic mission at Red River, in the welfare, and the moral and religious instruction of its numerous followers, and it being observed with much satisfaction that the influence of the mission, under the direction of the Right Reverend Bishop of Juliopolis, has been uniformly directed to the best interests of the settlement, and of the country at large, it is

*Resolved*—That in order to mark our approbation of such a laudable and disinterested conduct on the part of said missionaries, it be recommended to the honorable committee that a sum of £50 per annum be given towards its support.

This recommendation was carried out, and for many years afterwards the grant was paid yearly to the Catholic bishop. The Protestant schools were even more liberally assisted, and

so each denomination continued to impart instruction to the young, untrammelled by any interference from the other.

Following in the footsteps of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Council of Assiniboia, on 1st May, 1851, passed the following resolution :—

That one hundred pounds be granted from the public funds, to be divided equally between the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Bishop of the North-West (St. Boniface), to be applied by them at their discretion for the purpose of education.

By these and other acts it is clear that the Earl of Selkirk, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Council of Assiniboia, each in succession recognised the separate school system, and immediately preceding the transfer of the country, the latter was the acknowledged government in the Red River Settlement. The Presbyterians, in 1851, when petitioning the council for a grant of money for school purposes, made use of the following words :—" without prejudice to the recognized equality in the premises, between Protestants, as a whole, and the Roman Catholics." Thus affirming the right of the latter to their own schools, separate and distinct from any others.

It would seem, then, that up to the time of the transfer of the North-West to Canada, the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholics in the matter of schools were recognized and respected, not only by the existing Government, but also by the other classes of settlers.

Then came the feeling of disquietude in 1869-70 among the settlers, at the proposed change of government, and all the troubles arising therefrom, which we depicted in previous chapters. The uneasiness in the settlement was caused by mistrust of the intentions of the incoming Government, and a fear that the rights of the people would not be respected under

the new order of things. To appease this state of feeling, both the Imperial and Canadian authorities gave assurances that all the rights and privileges, as they existed at the time of the transfer, would be continued by Canada. The Catholics were then in the majority, and without such assurances it is doubtful whether the transfer of the country would have taken place as peaceably as it did.

The assurances being given, however, they are looked upon by the Catholics (at present in the minority), as equally binding now, as when they were made. The Catholics say, and with reason, that the separate schools supported by the Government, which they enjoyed up to the time of the transfer, was one of the rights and privileges which they were assured would be continued to them. The assurances that all their rights and privileges would be respected which were received and accepted by them, formed part of the bargain under which they consented to be transferred under Canadian authority.

It has been contended that as separate schools were not specially mentioned in the Bill of Rights handed to the delegates to Ottawa on their departure from Fort Garry, the insertion of the clause in reference to them was an afterthought, and therefore not binding. But, from the Catholic standpoint, there is this much to be said about it. Father Richot, one of the delegates, was sent as the special representative of the French Roman Catholics, and there is very little doubt that he made it a point to press for the continuance of Catholic schools. The Bill of Rights called for the respecting of all rights and privileges, and if he, by instruction, or of his own accord, chose to particularize that of separate schools, he can hardly be said to have exceeded his powers, so long as his demand was recognized as a right of the people he represented.

But, it would seem as if the clause in the Bill of Rights, relating to denominational education, was not only presented, but also accepted by the Canadian Government, for if we refer to the Manitoba Act, Clause XXII, we find the following:—  
“In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:—

(1.) “Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Province at the union,” etc., etc.

It is clear, then, that the question of separate schools was presented by the delegates, and accepted by the Dominion authorities, as part of the bargain with the people of the North-West.

This being the case, the question is, how far is Canada bound to respect that bargain now that her authority is supreme, and the Protestants in the majority, instead of in the minority? Is a promise once given now to be broken? Is the mandate of the Imperial Government to respect the rights and privileges of the people at the time of union to be now set at naught? The Catholics claim, and it would seem with justice, that not only was their right to separate schools acknowledged, but that it carried with it Government support. Their schools had been accustomed to receive assistance from the public funds at the union, and this privilege to share in the school grant was recognized by their Protestant brethren. It is, therefore, claimed that the continuation of a grant to Catholic schools is one of the privileges which should still be respected.

On the other hand, the Provincial authorities claim that

they have the right to expend their revenue as they deem best, without interference from the Dominion. The point in the present instance is a fine one to decide, especially as part of the Provincial revenue is given for purposes of education by the Federal Government, whose promise to respect the privileges of the Catholics in regard to separate schools is claimed to be binding. But the question of Provincial rights is now presented, to prevent the Dominion from enforcing fulfilment of promises given at the creation of the Province, the result of which may be a severe struggle between the Provincial and Federal authorities. As there are so many fine points of dispute to be settled, it is possible that some amicable arrangement, rather than interfering with Provincial affairs, may be deemed the best way out of the difficulty. This, of course, is only surmise, but, assuredly, should the Dominion Government attempt to decide the matter by remedial legislation, it is almost certain to cause dissatisfaction and create bitter feelings on one side or the other. If an amicable arrangement is possible in a case of this kind, it seems to us that if both parties could be prevailed upon to agree to such a course, any decision arrived at, whichever way it went, would, when accepted, be final.

On the part of the Catholics, and outside any constitutional question of Provincial rights, there is very little doubt that when the French-speaking people of Red River agreed to place themselves under Canadian jurisdiction, they did so on the understanding and in the belief that they would continue to enjoy separate schools. In presenting the Catholic side of this vexed question, we do not declare in favor of any particular school system. We have simply endeavored to shew that a promise was given and a bargain made with the Cath-

olies of the North-West at the time of the transfer of the country to Canada. The question whether the bargain then made, and the promise given, are still binding, is one about which there can be little doubt, and if constitutional questions have arisen to prevent their fulfilment, an amicable settlement of them is most desirable as early as possible.

When the organization of the Province of Manitoba was being effected, and for many years afterwards, the claims of the Catholics to have separate schools, were recognized and respected. Thus the Provincial authorities acknowledged and confirmed the bargain made by the Federal Government, and it is only during the past few years that the contract has been repudiated by the former.

In 1871, an act was passed in the Manitoba Legislature, "to establish a system of education in the Province." This first school law created public schools, either Protestant or Catholic, and it was favorably received by all parties. To the common right of having schools of their choice, two privileges were given by the law, to each section—that of organizing their schools, and also that of being helped by public funds, without prejudice to the distinctive character they claimed and enjoyed. The facility and promptitude with which the new system was put into action, proved that the system favored the views of the population. The Federal Government, instead of disallowing that law, was willing, on the contrary, to help the schools, and for this reason, in 1872, submitted a proposition to Parliament to reserve a considerable part of the public lands in Manitoba and the North-West for school purposes.

The setting aside of this land was done at a time when separate schools were known to exist in the North-West, and it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the grant was made

for the support of Catholic as well as Protestant schools. The Federal Government, having in view the promise given to the Catholics, that they should enjoy their own schools, could have had no other idea, in making the grant, than that a portion of it would go to their support. It becomes a question, then, whether the Protestants have the right to deprive their Catholic brethren of their share in this grant. Although it was given merely for purposes of education, without reference to Catholics or Protestants, the intention of the Government when making the grant, is worthy of consideration, and it is reasonable to suppose that the system of separate schools then existing in Manitoba was borne in mind at the time.

The circumstances attending the abolition of separate schools in Manitoba will be found in another chapter, and need not be discussed here. The Catholic minority made a grand fight against what they deemed to be oppression, and petitions flowed into Ottawa protesting against the act of the Provincial authorities. The constitution indicates four remedies for the evils they complained of, namely:—The reserve of the royal sanction; the disallowance of the law; the resort to tribunals: the appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council.

Step by step the question was fought, and the debates in the Dominion House of Commons on the subject were among the ablest ever delivered by Canadian public men. It was a question, however, upon which the Government of Canada, for certain reasons, seemed desirous of testing the responsibility, and, as a result, the Catholic minority was repulsed at every point.

The cause of the minority, however, had many friends, and numerous writers in the public press espoused and defended it. In Parliament, it had many able champions, and political associations passed resolutions favoring it. Of these latter,

we may quote from the document issued by the Conservative League at Montreal, in 1892, the following words:—

No one can honestly deny the treaty passed in 1870, between the Government of Canada and the population of Manitoba, and by which it was formally decided and agreed, that denominational schools should be safeguarded. No one can now deny that the school laws of Manitoba of 1871, passed and adopted by men who had been parties to the treaty of the preceding year, have not maintained separate schools both for Catholics and Protestants.

For these reasons, the "Conservative League" protests against the school laws now in vogue in Manitoba, and they hope that our political men will try to remedy such condition of things, without weakness or capitulation.

Of the petitions presented by the minority against the act of the Provincial Legislature, the following, endorsed by Mr. J. S. Ewart, the lawyer for the Catholics of Manitoba, who has all along so ably conducted their case, and signed by a large number of prominent and influential men, may be quoted:—

That it may be declared that the said acts (53 Vic., chaps. 37 and 38) do prejudicially affect the rights and privileges, with regard to denominational schools, which Roman Catholics had by law or practice in the Province at the union.

That it may be declared that the said last-mentioned acts do affect the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

That it may be declared that to your Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council, it seems requisite that the provisions of the statutes in force in the Province of Manitoba prior to the passage of the said acts should be re-enacted, in so far at least as may be necessary to secure to Roman Catholics in the province the right to build, maintain, equip, manage, conduct, and support these schools in the manner provided for by the said statutes, to secure to them their proportionate share of any grant made out of the public funds for the purposes of education, and to relieve such members of the Roman Catholic church who contribute to such Roman Catholic schools from all payment or contribution to the support of any other schools; or that the said acts of 1890 should be modified or amended as to effect such purposes.

Among those who spoke in favor of the minority was the Hon. Wm. McDougall, the man who suffered more from the

stand taken by the French Half-Breeds in 1869-70 than any one else. But he shewed a magnanimous disposition in forgetting the past, and instead of keeping silent on the question, as he might have done with perfect propriety, he spoke out in defence of the people who had rejected him as their governor. Coming from such a source, his words are of peculiar significance, especially as he was present, and watched with keen interest the passing of the Manitoba Act. He said :—

The French-speaking Catholic inhabitants had by law, viz. : 33 Vic., chap. 3, called the Manitoba Act, a constitutional guarantee against any prejudicial legislation, affecting any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools, which any class of persons had by law or practice at the union. Moreover, the denominational schools in Manitoba are protected by provisions for appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council, and remedial laws to be passed by Parliament if necessary.

As already stated, the Catholic minority had four courses open to them as remedies for the evils they complained of, each one of which, however, failed them in turn. The reserve of the royal sanction was denied them by the Lieut.-Governor of the Province (Schultz), disallowance was not granted by the Ottawa Government, and when their case was brought before the courts they were defeated.

An appeal to the Privy Council of England has just resulted in a victory for the minority, in that it declares it to be competent on the part of the Parliament of Canada to pass remedial legislation for the protection of the Catholics of Manitoba in the matter of schools. In accordance with this decision, the matter will be referred back to one of the parties to the original contract made in 1870. Will the Dominion Government bring forward the remedial legislation, and will Parliament pass it? If this be done, will the Provincial authorities submit? If they resist, what then? At this moment of writing, no one can foresee the end.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE MOUNTED POLICE AND INDIANS.

IN a previous chapter, we gave some account of the organization of the North-West Mounted Police Force, up to the time when Lieut.-Col. French severed his connection with it. In April, 1876, the control and management of the police was transferred from the Department of Justice to the Department of the Secretary of State, and in the following July, Lieut.-Col. J. F. McLeod, C.M.G., was appointed to succeed Lieut.-Col. French. About this time, the Mounted Police Force did good service in connection with the making of treaties with the Indians, an escort accompanying the Lieut.-Governor of the Territories while he was engaged in that work. The attention of the police was also required in guarding the frontier, owing to the war which was being carried on between the United States troops and the Indians on American territory. The number of men at Forts McLeod and Walsh was, therefore, largely increased, and four seven-pounder guns and a quantity of ammunition supplied to them. Previous to 1876, prisoners arrested in the North-West Territory had to be conveyed to Manitoba for trial, sometimes over a distance of 700 or 800 miles, and this arduous duty had to be performed by the police; by the organization of the Government of the North-West, which included provision for the administration of justice, the force was relieved of this extra task, which al-

lowed them to give more attention to their duties in the Territory. The American Indians about this time gave a great deal of trouble by coming over the line and invading the country which was claimed by the Blackfeet as their hunting ground. Horses were stolen, and other depredations committed, and it required all the skill and courage of the Mounted Police to prevent an outbreak of hostilities between the several tribes. American traders, by selling liquor and otherwise debauching the Indians, gave much trouble, especially in the Bow and Belly River districts, and although many of the Americans were desirous of preserving the peace of the country, a very large proportion were worthless characters whom it was necessary to drive out, or prevent from pursuing their nefarious calling. A memorandum containing a statement made by a respectable trader, and submitted to the Government, will give some idea of the class of men we refer to. He says:—"There are several trading posts in the vicinity (Belly River), they are not all forts. Their inmates comprise people of all classes and kinds, even to negroes. About four hundred of them in all. Most of them are engaged in trading, some of them in 'wolfing.' The Indians are afraid of them. An Indian's life is not worth a cent if he gives them any trouble. The Americans use liquor principally in their trade."

On account of these desperadoes, and the fear that the Indians would rise against each other, maddened as they were by liquor and the cruelties practised on them by lawless traders, Lieut.-Governor Morris wrote to the Canadian Government, strongly recommending an increase of the force. In 1873, a party of these American traders or wolfers, having lost some horses, attacked and massacred about forty lodges of defenceless Assiniboines at Cypress Hills, afterwards mutilating

the bodies in a horrible manner, and, although proceedings were taken to capture the murderers, in which every assistance was rendered by the United States Government, they finally escaped the punishment they so richly deserved.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Lieut.-Governor Morris to the Minister of Interior, on the 25th April, 1874:—"I will add that I have discussed the matter with persons well acquainted with the interior of the country, and the difficulties to be encountered, and the lowest estimate of the number of men who could be safely sent on an expeditionary force has uniformly been five hundred (500) men. The Indians are so numerous, and so well armed, that a small force would not be respected. I bring this matter under your attention, and presume that in the measures that may be taken for the enforcement of order and the maintenance of law and peaceful relations with the Indian tribes, you will act with the benefit of advice from competent military sources." Governor Morris was inclined to take an extreme view of the situation, and at one time even went so far as to recommend the employment of Imperial troops in the North-West.

The authorities at Ottawa, however, were not so much impressed with the gravity of affairs as to act on his proposals, for we find in the report of Mr. Frederick White, the present Comptroller of the Mounted Police, dated 30th December, 1876, that the number of officers and men in the force was 335, with 287 horses, stationed as follows:—

	OFFICERS AND MEN.	HORSES.
Fort Macleod	112	105
Fort Walsh	102	90
Fort Calgary	37	37
Fort Saskatchewan	22	18
Battleford and Carlton	12	16
Swan River	33	10

	OFFICERS AND MEN.	HORSES.
Shoal Lake - - - - -	8	4
Qu'Appelle - - - - -	5	4
Beautiful Plains - - - - -	4	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	335	287

The report also says that "the liquor traffic is now suppressed, and a number of Americans have crossed the border and engaged in stock-raising and other pursuits, in Canadian territory. \* \* \* \* At the Cypress Hills, the scene of the massacre of 1873, there is also a settlement."

The Mounted Police had also charge of the collection of customs duties in the North-West, and this added considerably to their duties.

During December, 1876, United States Indians, numbering about 500, men, 1,000 women, and 1,400 children, with about 3,500 horses, and 30 United States mules, crossed the line, and camped at Wood Mountain east of the Cypress Hills. They informed the Mounted Police that they had been driven from their homes by the Americans, and had come to look for peace; that they had been told by their grandfathers that they would find peace in the land of the British; that they had not slept sound for years, and were anxious to find a place where they could lie down and feel safe. The police at once took steps to watch the movements of these Indians, and to prevent arms and ammunition being furnished them by traders without permit. Towards the end of May, soon after the Custer fight, Sitting Bull, with 135 lodges, crossed the border, and joined the United States Indians in Canadian territory. The war-like nature of these Indians, and the difficulties which might arise from their presence in the country, caused Col. McLeod to recommend an attempt to induce them to return to Ameri-

can soil. Subsequently, the United States Government appointed a Commission to negotiate with Sitting Bull and the other Indians, with a view to inducing them to return, but, unfortunately, the efforts of that Commission were unsuccessful. About 100 Nerz, Perces, and other bands, who escaped from the United States troops, afterwards came over, and so the Mounted Police were saddled with extra responsibilities in looking after the foreign tribes in addition to the bands of Canadian Indians. The force, however, succeeded in a remarkable manner in preserving peace throughout the entire territory, and this, too, at a cost of one-third less per man than the cost of the cavalry of the United States at the same time.

In 1879, the Indians of the Canadian North-West were in a deplorable condition, owing to the buffalo being driven south into United States territory, and not being allowed to return by the American Indians. Some of the Canadian bands followed the buffalo across the line, and managed to secure a supply of meat, but after a time they were ordered off by the United States authorities, and had to return and starve. Notwithstanding this, and the desperate condition in which they found themselves, it is to their credit that they refrained from committing depredations. The moral influence exerted by the police, as well as the firm and at the same time humane manner of the men in dealing with the Indians, had much to do with this, and indeed when the vast territory, and the scattered condition of the tribes are considered, their success in preserving peace is truly wonderful.

The following instance will give some idea of the remarkable nerve displayed by the police in controlling the Indians, and the influence they thereby exercised over the savages. A small party of Sioux had all their horses stolen, and applied

to Assistant-Commissioner Irvine, then stationed at Fort Walsh, to recover them. This officer, accompanied by a sub-inspector and six men, set out to find the guilty parties, and, after scouring the country for some distance, at last located the stolen animals. The following is from the report of Col. Irvine:—It was a large camp of 250 lodges of Milk River Assiniboines and Gros Ventres, on a creek near the west end of these hills. I thought it not safe to take the Sioux Indian into this camp, especially after dark, so left my waggon with two men and the Sioux Indian about three or four miles from the camp, and rode in with Sub-Inspector McIlree and four men. It was quite dark when I got into camp. I went straight to the chief's (Little Chief) lodge. It was surrounded with Indians. \* \* I told the chief I knew he had the stolen horses in the camp, and I had come to get them. He said he did not think that his young men would give them up, and that the Americans were very strong, and would not allow any white man to harm them. I told him we could not allow anyone to steal horses on this side of the line, and that he would have to give an answer before I left his lodge. \* \* He then said, when you come in the morning I will hand you over every one of them. \* \* I went in the morning, and they handed me over all they could find. \* \* It would have been impossible for me, with only four men, to have made any arrests, besides it would have been difficult to find the guilty parties. *However, I gave them a good lecture, and they promised to behave themselves in future.* What an example of moral force! An officer with only five men goes into a camp of a thousand or more warlike Indians, compels them to deliver up stolen property, and then lectures them about the consequences if they steal any more.

The numerical strength of the force remained about the same, and in 1880 consisted of only 276 non-commissioned officers and men, and 23 officers. But Col. McLeod, in his report, recommended an increase of 200 men on the following grounds: That since the disappearance of buffalos the Indian situation had assumed quite a different aspect. As long as the buffalo lasted, the Indian was self-supporting, independent, and contented. Now he is in a very different position, and the Indian population, irrespective of the aid received from Government, would be a starving one, a dangerous class requiring power as well as care in handling. Another ground was the advance of civilization, the experience of the United States not being without a lesson. There the military had no trouble with the Indians until settlers appeared upon the scene. These settlers, unaccustomed to the Indian manner and habits, do not make due allowances, or exhibit that tact and patience necessary to successfully deal with the Indians, and which is shewn them by an organized force kept under control. The Government did not act upon the recommendation of Col. McLeod, and the force remained about the usual strength of 300 officers and men.

The arrival of Sitting Bull, in 1877, was soon followed by numerous other bands, until fully 700 lodges, or from five to six thousand American Indians were congregated on Canadian Territory. Naturally, this fact gave rise to much uneasiness, not only to settlers, but also to the Canadian Indians and Half-Breeds. It required unceasing watchfulness on the part of the police, and it was, therefore, with a feeling of relief that people heard of the surrender of Sitting Bull and his followers to the United States authorities at Fort Burford on the 21st July, 1881. In that year, the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General

of Canada, paid his visit to the North-West, and an escort from the Mounted Police accompanied him on his tour.

Again, in 1882, a recommendation was made to the Government to increase the strength of the force, this time by Commissioner Irvine, who had succeeded Col. McLeod. The number of Indians in the Territory at the time was estimated to be 27,000, and the area over which the police had charge some 375,000 square miles. No wonder, then, considering the numerous and difficult duties they had to perform that the strength of the force was thought to be too small for the work expected from them. Col. Irvine suggested the following disposition of the men should the increase be made :—

Qu'Appelle	-	-	-	-	50	officers and men.
Battleford	-	-	-	-	50	" "
Edmonton	-	-	-	-	25	" "
Blackfoot Country	-	-	-	-	200	" "
Headquarters	-	-	-	-	175	" "
<hr/>						
						500

At last the recommendation was acted upon, the Government being made aware that the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway would entail additional work on the force which could not be properly attended to without an increase in its strength, at the same time the headquarters were removed from Fort Walsh to Pile of Bones Creek. In 1883, the Mounted Police numbered 474 officers and men, and the following letter will shew the invaluable services rendered by them :—

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,  
Office of the General Manager,  
WINNIPEG, 1st January, 1883.

DEAR SIR—Our work of construction for the year 1882 has just closed, and I cannot permit the occasion to pass without acknowledging

the obligations of the company to the North-West Mounted Police, whose zeal and industry in preventing traffic in liquor, and preserving order along the line under construction, have contributed so much to the successful prosecution of the work. Indeed, without the assistance of the officers and men of the splendid force under your command, it would have been impossible to have accomplished as much as we did. On no great work, within my knowledge, where so many men have been employed, has such perfect order prevailed.

On behalf of the company, and of all their officers, I wish to return thanks, and to acknowledge particularly our obligations to yourself and Major Walsh.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. G. IRVINE,

W. C. VANHORNE,

*Commissioner of North-West Mounted Police, General Manager.*

Regina.

In 1883, a strike of employés on the Canadian Pacific Railway took place, and the services of the police were required to protect the property of the company. This they did effectually in addition to their regular duties, and again the thanks of the Railway Company were conveyed to the force. Indeed, at every step in the development of the North-West, the police seem to have rendered valuable aid. The force at this time was under the care of Sir John A. Macdonald, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and he took a great interest in all connected with it. Although minor attempts were made by the Indians for some fancied grievance, or out of revenge, to wreck railway trains, by placing obstructions on the track, there was, comparatively speaking, freedom from such outrages; and, thanks to the efforts of the police, Canada can compare well in this respect with the United States, where railway wrecking by Indians was common.

Nothing new of much importance in regard to the police, occurred until the Rebellion of 1884-85 took place, except that the attitude of the Indians toward the whites did not seem to

be so friendly, and a number of minor disturbances had to be checked, and the perpetrators punished.

In reading the reports of the Mounted Police officers in regard to the Rebellion of 1884-85, and the share which the force had in suppressing that uprising, one cannot but come to the conclusion that a great injustice has been done to the gallant men, by General Middleton and others, in withholding from them the credit for valuable services which properly belonged to them. In the reports of General Middleton, very little mention is made of them, although they rendered valuable aid in the suppression of the Rebellion. Col. Irvine, from the commencement, kept himself posted as well as circumstances would permit, as to what was going on. At first, Riel's movements were not such as to give rise to serious apprehension, yet Col. Irvine began to make preparations for an emergency, and when he received orders, on the 16th of March, to go north, he had his men ready to move. The march of 291 miles, to Prince Albert, was an arduous one, yet on the morning following the arrival there, at 2.30 a.m., the men were once more *en route* for Carlton. Col. Irvine's reasons for returning to Prince Albert after the affair at Duck Lake, were, in our opinion, those of a prudent officer, and shewed good judgment. He has been criticised for remaining at Prince Albert instead of going to Batoche, but it is plain to see that in the course he pursued he not only obeyed orders, but stood ready to obey the commands of the military officer, General Middleton, under whom he was instructed to serve. If he had gone forth on his own responsibility, leaving an important point unprotected, he would have deserved, and probably have received, censure. Besides this, he was evidently left pretty much in the dark as to what was going on. One

thing seems certain, that from the moment the police force was placed under command of General Middleton, they obeyed orders promptly, executed what they had to do with alacrity, courage, and success, and received but little commendation for what they did. This is the view we take of the matter, after reading the reports of all concerned. Col. Irvine says:—"In some unaccountable manner, it has been accepted throughout Canada as the opinion of General Middleton, that I should have attacked the rebels on the north side of Batoche simultaneously with the attack which took place on the opposite side of the river. I presume this cannot be that officer's opinion, as he distinctly ordered me not to make such an attack."

If General Middleton had employed the Mounted Police when he went in search of Big Bear, instead of leaving them at Prince Albert to do garrison duty, the campaign might have ended more quickly than it did. The men in the force were peculiarly adapted to Indian fighting, while the volunteers were new at the work, and the result was that Big Bear gave the General a long chase.

With Col. Otter's column, the Mounted Police formed the advance and rear guards, and did admirable work. With Col. Strange, the police did double duty, sometimes as horse artillery, and at others as scout cavalry, and the verdict of that gallant officer was that he never commanded better soldiers.

The services rendered by the force in keeping order among the Indians, and preventing them from joining in the rising, were invaluable, and were recognized in several quarters. The North-West Coal and Navigation Company, and the South-Western Stock Association, among others, acknowledged the great assistance given them by the police, and the settlers throughout the country had reason to be grateful for the pro-

tection from Indians afforded, without which it is impossible to say what might have occurred. In fact, all through the Rebellion the men of the force were active and courageous in what they performed, and none are readier to acknowledge this than the volunteers who were on service at the time in the North-West.

The effect of the Rebellion was to increase the force to 1,039 officers and men, at which figure it stood in 1885.

On the 1st April, 1886, Commissioner L. W. Herchmer succeeded Lieut.-Colonel Irvine, who resigned, owing to his acceptance of another position. The advance of settlement now made the duties of the police more onerous and more difficult to carry out. Their treatment of the Indians, especially the punishment of the criminal class, had to be tempered with the greatest judgment to avoid retaliation on the scattered settlements: and, while on the whole the conduct of the bands was good, there were individual cases of outrages on settlers. The plan of employing Indian scouts was tried with great success, and this addition to the force found to be most useful in ferreting out Indian depredations, such as horse-stealing and cattle-killing. Valuable aid was rendered to the stock-raisers by the force, in protecting their herds, and the Indian scouts proved most valuable in the performance of this duty.

On the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, the control of the Mounted Police passed into the hands of Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, who succeeded to the Premiership and Presidency of the Privy Council, and in 1893 it was placed under Hon. W. B. Ives, who, at this writing, is still at the head of the department, ably assisted by Mr. Frederick White as comptroller, whose executive abilities in managing the details of so responsible a position are too well-known to need comment.

It is to be regretted that politicians have made the reduction of the Mounted Police a party cry. Canada has made too many mistakes in connection with the North-West to afford making any more. Any radical reduction of the force for some time would be a blunder. The ordinary duties of the police extend over an area of about 750 miles from east to west, and over 400 miles from north to south, and within these limits there are about sixty Indian reserves, and more than 20,000 Indians. The southern frontier, about 750 miles, is patrolled weekly, and much of it daily. The settlements, cattle ranches, Indian reserves, and ordinary lines of travel are patrolled frequently. The absence of serious crime is, to a large extent, due to this constant patrolling, and the knowledge that police in small numbers are roving about, and are in touch with each other in every part of the Territories; and further, that the patrols can be quickly reinforced from the headquarters of the several districts.

It is a mistake to suppose that the advance of settlement reduces the necessity for police. The contrary has been found to be the result of experience, and must continue to be so until the country is better filled up, and the settlers feel strong enough to protect themselves. The security afforded to the wives and families of settlers in sparsely settled districts, enables a farmer to absent himself from his home, when attending market, or for other purposes, with a feeling that they will be perfectly safe from annoyance by Indians or tramps during his absence. The duties of the force are multifarious. A traveller passing through the Territories may meet police battling with prairie fires, enforcing quarantine regulations, collecting customs duties, watching smugglers, chasing horse thieves, conveying lunatics or prisoners, attending courts, and

performing various other duties required by the several departments of the public service.

The Indians do not give much trouble, but that is largely due to police supervision, and the knowledge that they are in sufficient strength to enforce respect for the law, and punish wrong-doers. Take the McLeod district for instance: there are on the Blood Reserve nearly 2,000 Indians, who are almost exclusively dependent on Government rations for their subsistence. There are in the same district about 60,000 ranche cattle. Notwithstanding the fact that the reserve is closely watched, the killing of cattle is of frequent occurrence, and if the police were withdrawn or reduced to a number insufficient to overawe the Indians, cattle-ranching by white men would be impossible. There is danger also from the proximity of these Indians to those in the United States.

In addition to the Bloods, there are about 1,000 Piegan Indians in the McLeod District, and 80 miles north thereof, about 1,500 Blackfeet. These are the three largest bands, but there are reserves in all sections of the Territories, and, although many of the Indians have settled down and are well advanced in agricultural pursuits, the older men were, a few years ago, living by the chase, and in frequent warfare with other tribes. Marvellous progress has been made by the Indian Department in the direction of the civilization of these Indians, but they still communicate with each other, and if they thought there was any hope of ejecting the white man they would not hesitate to abandon their reserves and unite for that purpose. Let eastern politicians keep their hands off the Mounted Police for some time to come.

In the management of the Indians, the Government adopted the plan of placing them on reserves:—

Events have fully vindicated the policy of locating these reserves at a distance from each other, instead of herding Indians in large numbers on a few reservations, and employing soldiers to watch them, a course which has not infrequently been advocated.

The advantages of the system, briefly stated, are the following :—

The reservations do not arrest the march of settlement in any one direction, and consequently do not to any great extent excite the cupidity of settlers.

The Indians, when congregated in small numbers, cling less tenaciously to their habits, customs and modes of thought, and are in every way more amenable to the influences of civilization.

They have less opportunity for devising mischief, and lack the combination to carry it into operation.

The danger of quarrels among hereditary enemies is avoided.

The game which contributes towards the Indians' maintenance does not disappear with such rapidity as in the presence of large numbers of hunters.

The Indians find a market for produce and for labor when distributed through various settled districts, and settlers in turn, share equally in any advantage to be gained through furnishing such supplies as beef and flour, which can be purchased locally.

The first step was, of course, to settle the Indians upon their reserves, and in accomplishing this, the Government was greatly aided by the disappearance of the buffalo, although the startling suddenness of this event added ten-fold to the difficulties of the position in some other respects.

Among some of the Indians in the earlier treaties, some small beginning had been made towards getting them to settle down and betake themselves to farming, but in the latter treaties, in which the Indians were practically dependent upon the buffalo, but little beyond a partial distribution of cattle and implements had been accomplished.

The Blackfoot tribes had only come into treaty in 1877, and were, by the sudden disappearance of the buffalo, confronted with starvation.

When visited in 1879, they were found to be in a most pitiable plight. The old and infirm had largely perished, strong young braves were reduced to skeletons, their ponies traded off for food, their dogs eaten; they were dependent for sustenance on what gophers, mice and so forth, they could find.

The gravity of the position can hardly be exaggerated. The natural source of supply cut off before any appreciable step had been taken towards the provision of a substitute. This, too, at a time when means of transport were limited largely to the use of the old Red River carts, over a country almost destitute of roads.

Looking back now upon the situation, it seems marvellous how the diffi-

culties were overcome, and how the condition of affairs existing to-day has been arrived at.

The Government, however, undismayed, set its face with determination to the task presented to it.

Before proceeding further, it would be unfair to leave unacknowledged the extent to which, in dealing with the Indians now under review, the road had been cleared by the Hudson's Bay Company, which, by an uninterrupted course of fair dealing, had prepared the Indians to put confidence in the justice and friendly intentions of the white man.

The half-breed population, too, served as a go-between, and although their influence may not have invariably been for good, on the whole it has been very beneficially exerted between the Indians and the Government.

To turn to particulars, the first step was, as already stated, to get the Indians settled on their reserves and at work.

The fact that the disappearance of the buffalo aided in such settlement has already been noticed, as well as the advantages resulting from the division of Indians over reserves separated by some distance from each other.

Although the general policy had been clearly defined, the methods of carrying it out were necessarily tentative, and one of the first things discovered was the need of ample and constant supervision, such as would enable each Indian to be known and dealt with individually. Agencies were established with farmers in charge of reserves therein, and, as the advantages of closer supervision became apparent, these agencies have been increased and subdivided.

The control of rations has been the only lever beyond moral suasion available to compel Indians, naturally adverse to it, to work. The principle laid down has been to help the Indian to help himself, to support him just to the extent necessary to enable him to become self-supporting. In theory, this principle is sound, but many difficulties have been encountered relative to reducing it to practice.

The doctrine inculcated has been the Apostolic one ; that if a man will not work, he shall not eat.

At first sight it might appear that the control of rations would provide a pretty effective method of coercion, but the Indian is shrewd enough to discover that it would not be used beyond a certain point, and were he not so, there are always plenty of white men ready to assure him of it.

In view of such inadequate coercive means, and the necessity for relying almost entirely on the moral suasion, it will be readily recognized how necessary it has been to employ in the work, men possessed of energy, firmness, patience, tact, decision, fertility of resource in dealing with emergencies, and such knowledge of the Indian character as can be gained by experience alone.

The Commissioner has always been in close touch with every agency. A very elaborate system of communication has been kept up by having monthly reports and diaries from each agent and farmer sent to his office. Regular returns, accounting for the issue of all sorts of supplies, are received, others showing the rate of assistance given to each band, the amount of work performed, so that a complete check is kept upon all property, and the Commissioner's intimate acquaintance with the circumstances of all Indians, enables him to tell whether the rule requiring that only sufficient help to enable them to help themselves is being adhered to.

The policy governing the Indians' agricultural operations, is to confine them to what they can handle with such simple implements as are likely to be within their reach when they come to be thrown on their own resources, and to keep them all usefully employed. The use of labor-saving machinery, unless under exceptional circumstances, is discouraged.

Every effort is put forth to devise means by which the Indians can be enabled to earn money, whether by hiring out their services, selling hay, firewood, burning lime or charcoal, tanning hides, or any other of a dozen different ways. They are required, moreover, as they become sufficiently advanced, to manufacture their own hay-racks, bob-sleighs, harness, ox-collars, axe and fork handles, and so forth, at which they soon become very expert,

To encourage the care of cattle, and teach the Indians their value, animals are given to them under what is known as the "Loan System." By this, a certain time is allowed in which to return the animal originally lent, or one, equally good, from the progeny, which, in turn, is given out to another under like conditions, and thus a system is gradually brought about at a less cost than would be otherwise incurred. To encourage the Indian, as soon as a few animals have been acquired, he is allowed to sell a steer, part of the proceeds being given him to expend, the balance devoted to the purchase of a young heifer, with a view to yet further increasing his stock. By such methods, under careful supervision, some bands have already become practically self-supporting, while all are making rapid strides in the same direction. During all this time a main feature of the Department's policy had never for a moment been lost sight of, viz., the inculcation of a spirit of individualism, or preparation for citizenship.

The special legislation necessary for the protection of the Indians' interests against the superior business acumen of unscrupulous white men militates against this consummation, but nothing would be gained by conferring the full status of a citizen, before the recipient had been carefully prepared to bear it, and the legislation referred to makes ample provision for the Indian's enfranchisement in due time.

The first step in the course of this education is to overcome the inclina-

tion engendered by their natural manner of living, in which the industrious has to share the products of his industry with his lazy and thriftless neighbors. By carefully confining the assistance given, so as to render it absolutely necessary to husband his own resources, this tendency is soon overcome. As he becomes self-supporting, he finds himself more comfortable and independent, and so a stride has been made to the point at which a spirit of proper pride and self-respect can be awakened.

At this stage, by continuing to give him such assistance as will leave him a margin for, and by inducing him to make investments in property, such as waggons, harness, implements, and so on, he develops into the status of a property holder, and begins to feel a sense of superiority to those who are compelled to rely for everything upon the charity of the Government.

What he has been purchasing secures to him the means of assured independence, and his position arouses a spirit of emulation in his less industrious brother.

Nothing tends so strongly as the acquisition of property to render Indians adverse to having the existing order of things disturbed, for with them, as in white communities, the lawless and revolutionary element is to be found among those who have nothing to lose, but may perhaps gain by upsetting law and order.

When so far prepared, effect can be given to the provision made for the subdivision into farms, to be held in severalty, of the reserve so far occupied in common. Assured that the benefits will thus be secured to himself and heirs, he is encouraged to improve his property. Already on many of the reserves, this system of subdivision and tenure by location ticket is in operation.

The patriarchal form of government by hereditary chiefs has to be broken down, and provision has been made for the substitution of a system of election, when the time becomes ripe for it.

It may not prove possible to merge the Indians of the present generation to any extent with the white population.

The majority of them may have to be kept on their reserves. To enable them to cope with the temptations and assaults to which they would be exposed if thrown upon their own resources among white men, it may well be that training should commence in childhood.

In aiming at this, however, sufficient progress has been made to justify the confident expectation, within a comparatively short time, the Indians of the present generation will at least be made self-reliant, self supporting, and self-respecting on their own reserves, and if nothing more be accomplished, this achievement will have been worthy the best efforts of a civilized and Christian nation.

The placing of the Department of the Interior under the care of a minister representing a North-Western constituency, was a wise step on the part of the Dominion Government, and one appreciated by the people of the North-West. The minister being more closely in touch with the needs of the North-West, than if he represented an eastern constituency, enables him to manage the department to better advantage. It may, therefore, be accepted, that the office of the Minister of Interior will continue to be filled by a North-Western representative.

This department, while under the care of Hon. T. M. Daly, especially that part of it relating to the Indians, has been most satisfactory to the people generally, and in this work, the Minister has been ably assisted by the Deputy Superintendent-General, Mr. Hayter Reed.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE HUDSON'S BAY ROUTE.

It is not surprising that the people of the North-West should desire a closer connection with the Atlantic Ocean than by way of the St. Lawrence. As the production of wheat and the raising of cattle for export grew to large proportions, the eyes of the producers naturally turned to discover the cheapest means of transportation to the seaboard.

Attention was directed to Hudson's Bay, as the nearest outlet, through the action of the Dominion Government in seeking information as to the practicability of the route for steamers and sailing vessels. In previous chapters of this history, we gave some account of the early explorations in Hudson's Bay, and the reports of the discoverers proved of great value in pointing the way to those who in later days followed in their footsteps.

In 1883, an Order of the House of Commons called for a return of all information obtained through reports from officers of the Government, correspondence with the Imperial authorities or otherwise, in reference to the duration of the season of navigation at Hudson's Bay, shewing, in so far as had been ascertained, the dates at which the straits are sufficiently open to admit of the passage of steamers or sailing vessels, the soundings, so far as taken, and the extent to which the bay freezes over, whether wholly or only to the distance of a few miles from shore, etc.

In 1875, Dr. Bell, of the Geological Survey, made an examination of the head of James' Bay, as far as the north shore of Rupert's Bay, and in 1877 he continued the work of exploration as far as Cape Dufferin, the extremity of the Portland promontory, in latitude  $58^{\circ} 45'$ . The report gives an account of the geology of the coast, shewing that from Rupert's Bay to Cape Jones the rocks are of Laurentian age, with some Huronian strata. From Cape Jones northward they were principally of strata like those around Lake Nipigon, and of economic minerals found in different places along the route explored; the following is a list: Lead, copper, gold, silver, zinc, iron, manganese, molybdenum, iron-pyrites, ornamental stones, dolomite for calcining, hydraulic cement-stone, building stones, brick clays, asbestos, soapstone, flagstones. The temperature of the sea along the coast was taken in twenty-four instances between 11th July and the 21st September, and its average found to be  $53^{\circ}$  Fah. The sea water was sufficiently warm to admit of bathing in it.

In 1878 a survey was made of Nelson River for a distance of 180 miles down from the outlet of Lake Winnipeg, and for about ninety miles from the sea, upward. The boat route from Norway House to York Factory, the Hayes River in the vicinity of York Factory, and the shores of Lake Winnipeg, were also surveyed. In 1879, it was deemed desirable to ascertain how far the Nelson River or other water stretches between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay, could be utilized for navigation, so as to diminish as much as possible the land carriage. The result of the examination made on this occasion was, that taking into consideration the possibility of constructing canals past the obstructions to navigation, the difficulties in the way of such a scheme were such, that the

advantages of a through line of railway, instead of attempting to improve one of the water routes, became apparent.

In 1880, the central section of the Nelson River was surveyed, and a complete map made of its entire length. The Grass River, a large branch of the Nelson, was also surveyed, and the great Churchill River, from the mouth to a point about twenty miles above the junction of the Little Churchill, was examined. The ruins of Fort Prince of Wales on the western side of the mouth of the river, were found to be in a good state of preservation, although more than 100 years had elapsed since this stronghold was captured and its wood-work burnt by the French Admiral, La Perouse. The present post of the Hudson's Bay Company, called Fort Churchill, stands on the western side of the river, about four miles from its mouth. Here the inhabitants raise potatoes and turnips, breed cattle, and make excellent butter.

The Churchill river differs from rivers entering the Hudson's Bay to the southward of it, in having a rocky mouth, and is of such a form as to constitute an excellent harbor, which can be easily entered by shipping at all stages of the tide.

In the fall of 1880, Dr. Bell made a voyage from York Factory to England, in the Hudson's Bay Company's ship (the *Ocean Nymph*, 320 tons), sailing from Churchill on the 13th September. The voyage was an unusually long and stormy one, occupying five weeks, but from the 19th September till the 8th October, while in the straits, the weather was fine, so much so, that the Bishop of Moosonee, who was a passenger on the ship, held divine service on the open deck on three successive occasions. The field ice encountered was old, rotten, and discolored, and would not have hindered a steamer in the

slightest degree. In endeavoring to get through Hudson's Straits with a vessel of such poor sailing qualities as the *Ocean Nymph* was proved to possess, the chief problem was how to prevent her from being carried by the tides upon the rocks, owing to calms and changes in the wind, which would have been entirely avoided by a steamer. It is evident that although we have a long and remarkably successful experience of sailing vessels to refer to (no loss having ever occurred in the straits), still this evidence cannot be of much service in predicting what may be accomplished by using properly equipped steamers, which would revolutionize the whole matter. The most experienced and intelligent of the American whaling masters who have navigated the straits, say that during the summer and autumn months, at any rate, should drift ice occur in these parts, open water, suitable for the passage of steamers, can always be found between it and the bold shores. Another thing is, the aid of telegraphs, lighthouses and beacons, for the operation of which the high, bold shores of the straits offer every facility, would do much to facilitate the navigation of this great passage.

In 1881, a paper was read before the Royal Geographical Society on the commercial importance of Hudson's Bay, which pointed out the nature of the bay in relation to its navigation, the uniformity of the depth of water, the freedom from shoals, reefs, and islands near the principal ship tracks, the character of the bottom, etc., harbors, tides, river navigation, etc. In this paper, General Sir J. H. Lefroy is mentioned as an authority on the importance of the route, in increasing the value of the vast tracts of fine agricultural land, much of which is lying dormant in the Territories. He points out that some of the cheaper kinds of produce which would not bear

a long land journey at all, might be profitably exported by a shorter route. For the transport of grain, fresh meat, dairy produce, etc., the cool northern outlet would, it is claimed, have a great advantage over the warmer southern routes. For importing or exporting live stock, it would often possess an immunity from contagious or infectious diseases which might be prevalent in the United States or older provinces of Canada. General Lefroy then points out the incorrectness of the notion, or at least its uncertainty, that Hudson's Bay freezes over in the winter. He also claims that there is no evidence to shew that the strait is frozen over at that season of the year, any more than the bay. He claims, on the contrary, that although it may sometimes be more or less covered with floating ice, its great width, depth and strength of the tides probably keep it open all winter. The conclusion reached by General Lefroy from all the evidence obtained by him, was, that Hudson's Strait and Bay can be navigated by steamers, and the harbors entered during an average of four and a half months of the year. Annual records of the opening and closing of the Albany, Hayes and Nelson Rivers, extending over periods of fifty years and upwards, shew that these streams are open for an average of at least six months each year.

A pamphlet issued by the Nelson Valley Railway and Transportation Company of Montreal, in 1881, gives much information regarding the Hudson's Bay route. It claims that since Hudson's discoveries in 1609-10, about 730 round voyages, all by sailing ships, had been made into the bay up to 1881, and that during that time there had been remarkably few losses, and none at all in the straits. Messrs. Job Brothers, of St. John's, Newfoundland, are quoted as saying that there is no doubt of the practicability of navigating the straits

and bay with proper steamers during the five months from June to October inclusive. This, with the time necessary for making the first outward passage in the spring, and the last homeward passage in the autumn, would represent nearly six months of navigation.

It may now be interesting to give such testimony as we can procure relating to the length of the navigation season in the bay and straits:—

Captain Joseph Taylor, of New Bedford, says:—The entrance to the bay can be made from 1st to 15th of July. No trouble about coming out up to November 1st. and some seasons later.

Captain St. Clair, New Bedford:—June 13th, 1877, entered into the bay. Came out September 15th to 25th, 1878.

Captain Elnathan B. Fisher:—A steamship can enter and go through the straits some ten days sooner than a sailing vessel, say by 1st July, and might some seasons sooner. Whalemen never had any trouble in coming out, as they leave as soon as the summer whaling is over, and are always out by November 1st. \* \* \* The only trouble later than that is in Hudson's Strait, and that is caused by the ice coming down from Fox channel and lodging among the islands in the straits, blocking up the narrowest part, which is about midway of its length. A steamer could "crawl" out by keeping close to the rocks inside of the ice, as there is always open water more or less between the rocks and the great body of ice. The tide runs six or seven miles an hour, and at every turn of the same more or less breaking up occurs, and a steamer could take advantage of all such chances, where a sailing vessel would be at a standstill if the wind was ahead, and blew any way fresh.

Captain Spicer, of New London, Conn., on one voyage struck the ice outside, and did not get inside of Charles Island till July 14th. Never came out of the bay later than 23rd September. Some years there would not be more than two months of open water navigation in the straits, and, perhaps, not even that.

Captain E. White:—On first voyage entered the bay on August 1st, 1882, and put away for home about September 10th. Found so much ice that the ship put back and wintered. Captain White thinks there is no doubt but that they could have come out if they had been conversant with the bay and straits. His opinion was that with a good strong steamer, one could enter the bay sure every year from July 1st to 10th; and she could count on three months sure of such navigation that she could pass in and out.

The following are extracts from log-books :

Ship Northern Light.

June 28th, 1862. Latitude  $59^{\circ} 48'$ , longitude  $59^{\circ} 46'$ , plenty of field ice.

September 18, Resolution Island, bearing-north by-east, and the ship outside—some icebergs in sight.

July 8th, 1863—Entered Hudson Straits.

Sept. 20, 1863—Sighted Britton Islands, and ship outside.

Bark Andrews, 1863.

June 15th to 25th—Working in and through the ice.

Sept. 15th—Went into winter quarters.

Ship Ansel Gibbs, 1864.

June 24th—Sighted Resolution Islands.

Sept. 10th—Ship clear of Hudson Straits. Some ice in sight, but no trouble.

June 21st, 1866—Sighted Resolution Island, and no ice in sight.

July 28th, 1868—Sighted Resolution Island.

Sept. 3, 1869—Sighted Charles Island, and went through the straits without trouble from ice.

Ship Abbie Bradford.

June 30th—Working through the straits. No ice of any consequence in sight.

Bark George and Mary.

July 15th—Sighted Resolution Island.

Sept. 15th—At anchor in the inner harbor, and all hands getting ready for wintering.

Ship Abbie Bradford, 1880.

July 1st—Sighted Resolution Island, making but little headway through the ice.

August 1st and 2nd—Off South side of Mill Island, working through the ice. Latitude  $64^{\circ} 08'$ , longitude  $74^{\circ} 55'$ . Dr. Bell, of the Geological Survey, who has made five voyages through the strait, states that it is navigable from middle of June to middle of November.

Captain Clisby, with fourteen years experience in the waters of Hudson Straits, places navigation at four months, often five.

Captain Wm. Kennedy, who had eight years experience of the strait, states that navigation is open from June to November.

Mr. W. A. Archibald, for many years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Moose Factory : from June to December, Captain Wm. Hackland, in the Hudson's Bay Company's service for 39 years, states that the strait never freezes, and sees no reason why steamships should not navigate it at any time.

Captain J. J. Barry, an experienced Newfoundland sealer, thinks ocean steamships can enter as early as June, and can certainly come out as late as December.

Mr. W. A. Ashe, Superintendent of the Quebec Observatory, who was in charge of a station on the north coast of the strait from August, 1884, to September, 1885, says the strait is navigable for from four and a half to six and a half months, varying according to the class of ship.

Mr. Wm. Skynner, who accompanied three expeditions through the strait, thinks it can be navigated from June to December.

Mr. D. J. Beaton, of the expedition of 1885, reported the strait navigable from May to December.

Commodore Markham, R.N., an experienced Arctic navigator, gives his opinion as follows :—I believe the strait will be found navigable for at least four months of every year, and probably oftener for five or more. There will, I have no doubt, be many years when navigation can be carried out safely and surely from 1st June until the end of November.

Captain John Macpherson, of Stepney, London, as first officer and captain in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, made voyages from London and Stormness, to Hudson's Bay and return, annually, for twenty years. He writes :—There is no reason why steamships could not make the passage (of the strait) as early as the first of June, and come out as late as the middle of November.

Prof. Hind, in speaking of navigating the strait later than 1st October, says :—No ice interferes to prevent a passage. The only trouble is the passage being comparatively narrow, the late season of the year renders it dangerous to a certain extent, on account of storms, but, by means of the magnets, electric light and lighthouses on certain points in Hudson Strait, you would effectually provide against any such mischance.

In the foregoing testimony, regarding the navigableness of the Hudson's Bay route, we have confined ourselves to that of comparatively recent date, and have not quoted the experience of earlier navigators. The suitability of the ships, in early days, for navigating northern waters was not equal to that of the vessels employed during the last ten or fifteen years, and any testimony coming from their commanders is hardly applicable to the present time. Even the testimony we have given is not at all conclusive, because, in almost every case, the experience of sailing vessels has been quoted, whereas, should

the Hudson's Bay and Strait be used as a regular route of travel, steamships would be employed.

The evidence given so far is somewhat conflicting as to the exact length of time during which navigation is practicable in the strait, but it may be summed up as a positive four months of the year, with a conjectural six or even twelve. In fact, until a systematic attempt is made to navigate the strait, in each month during the twelve, its navigableness all the year round must remain a subject of conjecture.

The reason why Churchill Harbor, which has been described as a good one, although in the centre of the continent, is nearer than Montreal or New York to Liverpool, arises from the fact that the widths of the degrees of Longitude diminish so rapidly in going northward. The distance from Churchill Harbor to Liverpool, *via* Hudson Strait, is given at about 2,926 miles; from Montreal, *via* Cape Race, is 2,990, and from New York, *via* Cape Clear, 3,040 miles, shewing sixty-four miles in favor of Churchill, as compared with Montreal, and 114 miles, as compared with New York. Churchill is nearer to the centre of the North-West Territories than Quebec, by over 1,500 miles, and is only about 400 miles from the great wheat fields of that part of the Dominion. The sea voyage, *via* Hudson's Bay, being somewhat shorter than from Montreal, it follows that nearly the whole distance would be saved if the former was adopted.

That Churchill Harbor is an exceptionally good one, is gathered from the following evidence :—

Sir Henry Lefroy refers to it as the future shipping port for the agricultural products of the vast North-West Territory, and the route by which emigrants will enter the country.

Dr. Bell says : The Churchill River is remarkable for having at its mouth a splendid harbor, with deep water and every natural convenience

for the purposes of modern commerce. It can be entered with ease and safety, by the largest ships, at all stages of the tide.

Mr. George A. Bayne, Civil Engineer, engaged on a survey of the harbor, states :—The Harbor of Churchill is one of the finest I have ever seen. Nature has done so much for it, in the way of protection from storm, and the depth of water, that, without further improvements, it is fitted to take rank among first-class ocean ports. I took careful soundings, and found, at a distance of 400 feet from high-water mark along the shore, a depth of 38 feet, deepening suddenly to 50 feet. These soundings were taken at extremely low tide.

Mr. Wm. Smith, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, writes :—It is a splendid harbor, which can be entered with ease and safety at all stages of the tide; thus offering every advantage for shipping, and its entrance is destined some day to be the main commercial point of this inland sea. The basin for anchorage, with a depth at low water of over four fathoms, is about 1,400 yards north and south, and about 1,000 yards east and west. The harbor is pronounced to be an eminently safe one. The approaches are well marked, and in clear weather the land stands out bold and high, being easily identified at a distance of ten or twelve miles. The harbor is well adapted for a railway terminus, as the necessary docks could be easily and cheaply built, and the deep water basin enlarged at small cost. Stone lies at the water's edge ready to be laid into the docks or piers, and nature seems to have left little to be done to make this a capacious port capable of doing business on a large scale, and, what is of the greatest importance, an inlet by Hudson's Bay is the only thoroughly independent channel which can ever be established between Great Britain and her North American possessions.

Having dealt with the navigableness of the bay and straits, and the suitability of Churchill as a harbor, we will now turn our attention to the safety of the route. Taking the experience of sailing vessels, we find that upwards of 800 of these are said to have passed through the straits, including British troopships, emigrant ships, war vessels of the English and French, as well as ships bound on voyages of discovery, trade and whaling, and only a very small percentage have suffered loss. The Hudson's Bay Company, who have been trading between the United Kingdom and the great inland sea for two centuries and a quarter, only lost two vessels during all

that time. This is a remarkable showing, and one that speaks well for the route. The bay itself is a vast body of water, enclosed by land on all sides except the north-east, where it communicates by several channels with the outer ocean; the principal, or best known of these straits, being about 500 miles in length, and an average width of 100 miles. The basin of Hudson's Bay has a width of 2,100 miles from east to west, and a length of 1,500 miles from north to south.

A select committee of the House of Commons, of which Hon. Joseph Royal was chairman, sat in April, 1884, and, in the report presented to Parliament, it was stated that there were no rocks or dangerous places to impede navigation \* \* \*. The temperature of the waters of Hudson's Bay in summer is higher than that of the waters of Lake Superior. Storms are very rare and by no means formidable, and no icebergs are ever to be met with; fogs are of rare occurrence and short duration. The tide is first felt on the west shore, it runs down towards the south, and then up by the south, and then up by the east shore. Certain winds are, it is asserted by many persons, periodical.

The committee recommended that an expedition should be sent out for the purpose of establishing stations on both sides of Hudson's Straits, at which continual daily observations could be taken and recorded on the weather, tide, and temperature condition, and movements of the ice, etc., for a period of at least twelve consecutive months. Accordingly, Lieut. Gordon, R.N., was dispatched in a steamer called the *Neptune* during the summer of 1884, with a numerous and efficient staff, who, having stationed parties on several of the important points on the straits and bay, returned about the end of October to St. John's, Newfoundland. In his report, Lieut. Gordon says:—

"The ice has been supposed hitherto to be the most formidable barrier to the navigation of the straits, but its terrors disappear to a great extent under investigation. We met no icebergs in Hudson's Bay, nor did we hear of any being seen there: in the straits a good many were seen. The icebergs seen in Hudson's Straits in August and September would form no greater barrier to navigation than those met with off the Straits of Belle Isle, nor were they more numerous in Hudson's Straits than they frequently are off Belle Isle. Hudson's Bay may be regarded as a vast basin of comparatively warm water, the effect of which must be to considerably moderate the winter climate to the south and east of it. The bay never freezes over so far from the shore at Port Churchill but that clear water can be seen. The bay has proved to be navigable in June."

In 1885 and 1886, the expedition under Lieut. Gordon again visited Hudson's Bay, and after hearing the reports of his staff, left at the different stations along the route, he sums up his whole experience in the following words:—"I think it well to state that I am not required to report on the commercial aspect of the case, or whether Hudson's Straits' navigation can be made to pay, nor do I in the seasonable limits given mean to state that it is impossible for a ship occasionally to get in earlier or leave later; but, having carefully considered the subject, I give the following as the season during which navigation may in ordinary years be regarded as practicable for the purpose of commerce, not, indeed, to the cheaply-built freight steamer, commonly known as the 'ocean tramp,' but to vessels of about 2,000 tons gross, fortified for meeting the ice, and of such construction as to enable them to be fair freight carriers. I consider the season for the opening of navi-

gation to such vessels as the above on the average will fall between 1st and 10th of July, the closing would be about the first week in October." Admiral Markham, R.N., who accompanied the expedition, gave the time of navigation through the straits from one to two months longer than Lieut. Gordon.

The Gordon expeditions did good service, but they by no means demonstrated the feasibility of Hudson's Bay and Straits as a navigable route for more than four months of the year. Yet it has been asserted by experienced men that navigation in the straits can be accomplished by steam vessels all the year round. The reports from the different stations established by the Gordon expedition would show that this is not the case, but could the men placed to make the observations from points on the straits tell whether navigation was really closed from shore to shore? It seems to us that the only way to demonstrate this would be to have a properly equipped and powerful steam vessel attempt the passage during each month of the year. Until this is done, the navigation problem of Hudson's Bay will probably remain unsolved. One thing seems certain, the *Alert* was not a suitable vessel for the purpose, its highest rate of speed having been only six knots an hour.

In 1887, an Act intituled the Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay Railway Act was passed, and afterwards extended to 16th May, 1890. About 40 miles of the railway was built and ironed, and the company was authorized to construct and work a line of railway from the city of Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, to Hudson's Bay—a distance of about 650 miles. Another line was projected in 1893, from Port Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, *via* Prince Albert and Battleford, to a junction with the Canadian Pacific Railway at Calgary, a distance of

about 1,000 miles. The latter line would pass through a large extent of fine agricultural land to the north of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Neither of these lines have made any progress as yet in construction (with the exception of the 40 miles already mentioned), and at the present time the question of a Hudson's Bay route is still agitating the minds of the people of the North-West.

The Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay Railway was projected to run from Winnipeg to Grand Rapids, on the Saskatchewan, a distance of 242 miles, through a very flat country, almost free from rock except in the immediate neighborhood of certain parts of Lake Winnipeg shore—from Grand Rapids to Sea Falls, a distance of 100 miles, through a country more broken than the previous section, until the west channel of the Sea River is reached. The third section, from Sea Falls to Hudson's Bay, a distance of 290 miles, was expected to produce some very formidable difficulties in crossing the height of land between the Nelson River and the Franklin and Hayes Rivers, but a more favorable line of country was afterwards discovered. The second line, the Nelson Valley Railway Company, was projected as follows:—It was proposed to divide the line into three sections. The first from Port Churchill to Sea Falls, 350 miles, where it would be joined by the Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay Railway. It was surveyed, and reported to present no difficulty to the construction of a good line of railway at a moderate price. Section two, from Sea Falls to Prince Albert, about 300 miles, through some of the richest wheat land in the North-West, and at Prince Albert connection would be made with the Regina branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The third section, from Prince Albert *via* Battleford to Calgary, about 350 miles, through a fine

prairie country unequalled in North America for the raising of cattle and dairy produce, and at Calgary with the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and a through route to the Pacific thus effected.

Other lines are spoken of to Hudson's Bay, but, at this time of writing, no practical results have been accomplished, other than surveys and the construction of about 40 miles of railway. The agitation, however, in favor of the route has been kept up, new legislation asked for and secured, and aid in the shape of land grants and guarantee of bonds to a limited extent obtained. What will be done in the near future it is hard to say, but that the route is receiving the earnest attention of people throughout Canada, and especially in the North-West, is undoubted.

The promoters of the different schemes have met with opposition in many quarters, and investors so far have not been inclined to take the matter up warmly. This arises chiefly from the uncertainty attending the paying capabilities of the enterprise. If it could be once fairly demonstrated that the route through Hudson's Bay and the straits was open all the year round, we do not think there would be any difficulty in obtaining the necessary capital to prosecute the work. To determine this point of navigation is, we think, most essential, and if it can be done, the difficulties, in the way of building the road will disappear. The fact that so far only four months, with a conjectural six, of navigation has been demonstrated in connection with the bay and straits, and that there would be no alternate route by which grain could be moved during the winter, when once stored at Fort Churchill, in case of necessity or a rise in price, necessarily depreciates the value of the railway for grain export purposes. This is how it is

regarded by many practical men. During the four months of navigation the road would probably have more business than it could accommodate, but during the other eight months how would it be? It is possible that the road would have sufficient traffic all the year round, but, so far as the export of wheat is concerned, we simply state the opinion of many practical men on the subject. With the bay and straits open all the year round, the objection, so far as grain is concerned, would disappear. To ascertain the actual facts of the case is worth the trial; it is almost, we think, the duty of the Dominion Government to take the necessary steps to ascertain them.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST.

LOOKING backward to the condition of the North-West in 1870—less than a quarter century—it is difficult to realize the mighty changes that energy and enterprise have wrought in what was then so aptly named “the great lone land.” A practically illimitable and almost unknown waste has been redeemed from its primeval wildness. Its vast meadows—the grazing grounds of the bison—have been transformed into well-defined ranges, where the domestic herds of horses, cattle, and sheep, roam secure from the raiding savage. Its fertile plains and uplands have been changed from flower-scented gardens, where spendthrift Nature lavished her gifts on solitude, to prosperous farms, bearing waving thickets of golden grain. Its forests, lakes and rivers, turned to predestined usage, have become the aids and support of the thousands of hardy pioneers who have cast their lots within its borders. Where, at that time, only the Indian’s tepee, or log trading post, relieved the dread loneliness, and told of shelter to some isolated human life, now stand thriving towns and cities, the centres of busy trade and industry, whose church spires, hospitals and schools bear witness to the faith, and charity, and wise intent of those who dwell within their compass.

In 1871, the white population of Canada, west of Lake Superior, and east of the Rocky Mountains, was 12,225. Ten

years later, Manitoba and the Territories (exclusive of the territory awarded to Ontario) had 118,706 people, and in 1891—six years after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway—the population had increased to 260,573. The village of Winnipeg, with its 300 inhabitants, had grown to a city of 25,642 inhabitants, the ninth city in point of population in the Dominion. Calgary, Regina, Edmonton, Prince Albert, Moosomin, Moose Jaw, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and many others, had become towns of importance, with a rapidly increasing trade, and great possibilities of development.

The population of Manitoba and the North-West in 1891 were classified as follows:—Farmers, fishermen, and miners, 32,473; traders, etc., 8,627; manufacturers and mechanics, 6,936; servants, laborers, etc., 9,003; professionals, clergy, lawyers, doctors, etc., 3,786; non-productive class, 1,110.

The farmers of the North-West, forming a large majority of the population, increased the annual production of grain enormously in the period from 1880, when the first wheat was exported from Manitoba, to 1893, as the following table will show:—

Crop of wheat, 1880	-	-	1,153,328 bushels.
Exports of wheat, 1881	-	-	250,000 "
" " 1886	-	-	4,000,000 "
" " 1891	-	-	14,000,000 "
" " 1892	-	-	14,000,000 "
" " 1893	-	-	16,000,000 "

The value of wheat, flour, bran, shorts, etc., exported from Winnipeg in 1893 was \$8,000,000.

The production of oats and barley did not increase in the same ratio, as but little of either was grown for export, but the home consumption necessitated an increased acreage every

year. In 1881, Manitoba and the Territories produced 302,049 bushels of barley, and 1,360,220 bushels of oats. In 1891, the production of these two cereals had increased to 1,668,144 bushels and 10,096,556 bushels respectively.

The peculiar adaptability of the soil of a great portion of the North-West to flax culture, and the fair price attainable for that product, should be sufficient inducement to our farmers to devote more attention to its production. It is quite within the possibilities that the North-West may be the future home of a great linen industry, for if the country can produce the raw material in perfection, why should we pause there, and leave its manufacture to others, buying back the produce of our farms after it has passed through the hands of manufacturers, shippers, wholesalers, middlemen, and retail store-keepers, yielding a profit to each in turn, which our farmers have to provide by paying high prices for the finished article. The same argument applies with equal force to woollen goods, and all the manufactured products of leather. As yet, practically the only manufactures attempted in the North-West are flour, lumber, and beer. With abundance of raw material, and illimitable water power at our disposal, Manitoba and the North-West must inevitably assume the position of a world's workshop, furnishing nations yet unborn, not only with food, but also with the chief necessities of life, in staples, such as woollens, linen, wood, and its products, and leather goods of all descriptions. This possibility will become a certainty before many years.

The first influx of farmers to the North-West inaugurated what may be termed the era of wheat-growing. So much had been written about the country as the "granary of the world," and in consideration of the high price of wheat in

those days, that all the other branches of agriculture were almost entirely neglected, and wheat-growing became the sole aim and object of every farmer. The sudden drop in prices, caused by the competition of Russia, India, Australia, and South America, aroused them from their day dream, and set them to diversifying their work, so that the product of the farm might render them independent of the store-keeper for such articles as butter, eggs, cheese, and bacon. During the first ten years of their existence, the Territories imported a large percentage of the cured meats, butter, cheese, vegetables, mutton and poultry used in the country—even potatoes were imported. Horses and cattle, too, were purchased in the east at high prices, so that, even with heavy crops of dollar wheat, the farmers were drained of their earnings, and kept poor in the midst of plenty. Happily, this state of affairs did not last long. Hog and sheep-raising soon became general, and the manufacture of butter and cheese advanced with rapid strides, while the opening of the western ranches put a stop to the importation of horses and cattle. In 1893, the last importation of mutton was made, and the imports of poultry in that year had fallen to a minimum.

The establishment of Experimental Farms at Brandon and Indian Head, by the Dominion Government, had the effect of arousing the interest of the farming community in all branches of agriculture, horticulture and arboriculture. The work done and being done by those in charge of these institutions has borne good results, which are cordially appreciated by the people of the country. The dairying interests of the North-West—the importance and great possibilities of which had so long lain dormant—were stimulated by the visits of expert cheese and butter makers from the Dominion Dairy Commis-

sioner's staff, and subsequently by a tour of the country of the Commissioner and experts with a complete travelling dairy, illustrating the most improved methods of manufacture, with such good results in the establishment of cheese factories and creameries in nearly every centre of settlement, that the country is destined ere long to take its position as one of the leading producers of those two food staples. Unfortunately we have no statistics available which shew the output of cheese and butter of the North-West. The export value of those articles from Winnipeg in 1893, was about \$600,000.

Ten years hence, the reader of this volume will scarcely credit that such a state of things could have possibly existed in an agricultural country capable of producing every article of staple food grown in the temperate zone. It was wisely said in 1893, that the country was passing through a transition from speculation to legitimate farming, which, then well advanced, was the advent of an era of renewed prosperity, and steady and substantial progress.

The increase in horses, cattle, sheep and hogs for ten years, was as follows:—Horses, 1881, 27,609; 1891, 128,709. Cattle, 1881, 73,153; 1891, 463,468. Sheep, 1881, 6,419; 1891, 100,736. Hogs, 1881, 20,128; 1891, 69,312.

The live stock and dead meat industry was still in its infancy at the close of 1893, but its rapid increase up to that time was very encouraging. The exportation of live stock received a severe check from the stringent enforcement of regulations regarding the landing of cattle at British ports. The cattle-men of Great Britain, jealous of the encroachment being made on their trade by Canadian cattle, represented that there was a danger of the introduction of pluro-pneumonia to their herds from Canada, and the Secretary of Agri-

culture issued an order which practically killed the Canadian export trade for the time being. The fact that the disease does not exist in Canada, will no doubt be demonstrated to the authorities in time, and the export trade should then be increased ten-fold. The exports of live stock and dead meats from Manitoba for 1893, amounted to about \$1,000,000; and of hides, wool, and furs, \$1,500,000. These figures are estimated, and do not represent the total exports of the North-West of the articles.

The export fish trade of Manitoba is rapidly assuming important proportions. All the lakes and rivers of the North-West teem with fish of various kinds, and it is only a question of time when our fisheries will become one of our greatest sources of profit. The Dominion Department of Fisheries established a well-equipped fish hatchery at Selkirk in 1892, and interior lakes and streams will soon be well stocked with fish suitable to their waters, in addition to those which nature has placed there. In 1893, Manitoba had 452 vessels employed in the fisheries, maned by 953 men, and valued at \$120,567: and in that year Manitoba and the Territories produced \$1,042,093 worth of fish, the bulk of which was exported.

The settlement of the North-West in advance of railway construction, was, as we have already shewn, remarkable in the face of numerous obstacles, but it was not until the completion of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway that the real tide of immigration set in. In 1881, the homestead entries numbered 1,768: in 1882, 2,766: in 1883, 3,591: and the entries in the next seven years averaged 3,727, representing considerably over half a million acres per year. These entries were materially supplemented by the sales to actual settlers of Canadian Pacific Canada North-West Land Com-

pany's and Hudson's Bay Company's lands. During 1893, the quantity of land sold by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was 93,184 acres. The Hudson's Bay Company sold 7,908 acres, and the Calgary and Edmonton Land Company, 13,072. These three companies, therefore, disposed of a total of 114,164 acres; the average price being \$3.43 per acre. In the same year there were 3,890 homestead entries; representing an increase of population of 11,807 souls, and 650,720 acres of land disposed of to actual settlers. The bulk of these newcomers were Canadians; 818 heads of families from the United States; 424 from Great Britain; and the remainder was made up of French, Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Swedes and Icelanders. The practice of granting assisted passages to emigrants was discontinued in 1888, but for the purpose of promoting settlement, the Government paid a bonus of \$10 to each head of a family; and \$5 to each member of a family over the age of twelve years; also, \$10 additional bonus to each member of a family who should, within six months after sailing, become a settler on land somewhere in the Dominion, west of the Province of Ontario, which land must have been acquired from the Government, or from a corporation that received it as a Crown grant. The object of the bonus was to assist *bona fide* agricultural settlers in their transportation expenses from points in Europe to points in the North-West. The land regulations, perfected after years of experiment, were, in 1893, briefly as follows:—

All surveyed even numbered sections, excepting 8 and 26, which had not been homesteaded, reserved to provide wood lots for settlers, or otherwise disposed of or reserved, were held exclusively for homesteads.

(1) Homestead entries for one quarter section (160 acres) of surveyed agricultural land, open to such entry, might be obtained by any person

who was the sole head of a family, or by any male who had obtained the age of eighteen years, on application to the local agent of Dominion lands, and on payment of an office fee of \$10. The homesteader perfected his entry by beginning actual residence on his homestead, and cultivation of a reasonable portion thereof, within six months from the date of entry, unless entry had been made on or after the first day of September, in which case residence was not required until the first day of June following, and continue to live upon and cultivate the land for at least six months of every twelve for three years from the date of entry, when he would become entitled to a patent. If a homesteader desired to secure a patent within a shorter period than three years, he was granted permission to purchase at the Government price, on furnishing proof that he had resided on the land for at least twelve months from the date of entry, and that he had brought at least thirty acres under cultivation. (2) The settler might also purchase the quarter section of the same section (if available), adjoining his homestead, at \$3 per acre : one-fourth cash, and the balance in three equal annual instalments, bearing interest at 6 per cent. per annum. (3) The Government made no advances of moneys to settlers, but for the encouragement of bona fide settlement, in cases where any person or company was desirous of assisting intending settlers, with the sanction of the Minister of the Interior, the settler had the power to create a charge and interest not exceeding 8 per cent per annum. This advance might be devoted to paying the cost of the passage of the settler, paying for the homestead entry, providing for the subsistence of the settler and his family, to erecting and insuring building on the homestead, and to breaking land and providing horses, cattle, furniture, farm implements, seed grain, and extra payment of the first instalment if any such advance should fall due before the 1st November in any year, and should not be within less than two years from the establishment of the settler on the homestead, and the settler was not bound to pay the capital of such advance within a less period than four years from the date of his establishment on the homestead. (4) The odd-numbered sections were reserved for the purpose of being granted as land subsidies to aid the construction of colonization railways. (5) Payments for land might be made in cash or by such scrip as had been issued by the department of the Interior for that purpose. (6) Where a homestead was destitute of timber, a settler might procure a permit for 25 cents to cut the following quantities of timber free of dues : 30 cords of dry wood, 1,800 lineal feet of building timber, 2,000 fence rails and 400 roof poles. Where timbered land was available in the vicinity, the settler might purchase a wood lot, not exceeding twenty acres, at \$5 cash per acre. (7) Licenses to cut timber in quantities were granted, after competition, to the highest tenderer. (8) The price per acre for coal lands was : for land containing lignite or bitumen-

ous coal, \$10 : and for anthracite coal, \$20. The land might be sold by public competition, or to the applicant. (9) Leases of grazing lands were granted for a period not exceeding 21 years, and no single lease was to cover a greater area than 100,000 acres. The lessee was obliged, within each of the three years from the date of granting the lease, to place upon his leasehold not less than one-third the whole amount of stock required by the lease, viz. : one head of cattle for every twenty acres of land covered by the lease, and to maintain a like proportion during the rest of the term. After placing the prescribed number of cattle, the lessee might purchase land within the tract leased for a home, farm or corral. Any portion of the land forming a grazing tract, authorized to be leased subsequent to 1886, was open to homestead or purchase ; and in the event of such settlement or sale, the lease was to become void in respect of the lands so entered or purchased. (10) Any person might explore for minerals on vacant Dominion lands, and on discovery of mineral deposit he might, by marking out his location on the ground, and filing an affidavit, in the form prescribed, with the agent of Dominion lands for the district, within sixty days from discovery, and paying a fee of \$5, obtain an authority to enter on his location and work it for one year. At any time before the expiration of five years the claimant might, upon proof that he had expended \$500 in actual mining operations on the claim, and paying \$5 cash per acre therefor, and a further sum of \$50 to cover the cost of survey, obtain a patent for his claim. No royalties were exacted on the output of mines by the Dominion Government.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company's lands consisted of the odd-numbered sections along the main line and branches, and in the Saskatchewan, Battle River, and Red Deer River districts. Prices of these lands ranged from \$3 to \$6 per acre. Sales were made for cash, or on time, one-tenth in cash and the balance in payments spread over nine years, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum.

The Manitoba South-Western Colonization Railway Company's lands were contained in a belt of 21 miles wide, immediately north of the international boundary, from range 13 westward. The terms of purchase were the same as those of the C.P.R.

The Hudson's Bay Company's lands formed one-twentieth of the fertile belt of Manitoba and the Territories, in all about

7,000,000 acres. The company were granted Section No. 8, and three-quarters of Section No. 26, in every township. Their lands were available for purchase on much the same terms as those of the C.P.R.

The Alberta Railway and Coal Company were granted 300,000 acres in the district of Alberta, consisting of farming and grazing lands, which they held at prices and upon terms similar to those above mentioned. They also offered lands in blocks of from 10,000 to 30,000 acres.

The Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company's lands consisted of about 1,900,000 acres of agricultural and ranching lands in Alberta, which they disposed of on favorable terms.

The Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway Company's land grant consisted of about 1,500,000 acres in the Saskatchewan district, suitable for agricultural and ranching purposes, which they offered at an average of \$3 per acre.

The total area surveyed and available for settlement at the end of 1893 aggregated 77,539,455 acres, which, calculated at the rate of five to a homestead of 160 acres, would be capable of sustaining a population of 2,300,495 souls: but with the minimum area of fertile land, still unsurveyed and lying waste, fully settled and cultivated, 50,000,000 would be a conservative estimate of the population the great North-West is capable of sustaining in comfort and prosperity.

The Christian missionary, allied with the adventurous trader, had carried religion and education to the extremest limits of the North-West long before the country was thought of as a field for the agriculturist, and, as civilization invaded the long-neglected region, those brave pioneers of the Cross were in the van of the advancing host. What progress they have made forms prominent incidents in the history of every hamlet

town, and city in the North-West. We have reviewed the state of religion in Manitoba and the Territories during the first decade of their existence, and will now briefly note the wonderful growth of the various sects up to the year 1891. In that year, there were in Manitoba 291 churches of all denominations, and in the Territories, 144. Of these, in Manitoba, 53 were Church of England: 37, Roman Catholic: 74, Methodist: 78, Presbyterian: 17, Baptist: and 32 various denominations: and in the Territories, 37 were Church of England: 36, Roman Catholic: 28, Methodist: 42, Presbyterian: and 1, Baptist. But, notwithstanding the increase in churches, and the multiplication of creeds in the North-West, there still remains a vast field open to the zeal of the missionary, for there were still in 1893 over 10,000 Indians, adhering to the religion of their fathers, in Manitoba and the Territories.

In the matter of education, the people of the North-West have fully kept pace with their century. From the entrance of Manitoba to the Dominion, and the organization of Government in the Territories, each year has been marked by an increased appropriation of public moneys for school purposes. In 1893, Winnipeg had 16 school buildings, valued at \$327,000, with 78 teachers and 78 departments. These were devoted to elementary education. In respect to higher education, the city was equally well equipped. The University of Manitoba, working in unison with St. John's College, under control of the Church of England; Manitoba College, Presbyterian; Wesley College, Methodist: and St. Boniface, Roman Catholic, had become known to the world through the success of its graduates in the larger fields of science, theology, law, and medicine. The educational progress of the North-West was in keeping with the advancement in all other respects.

In 1871, there were 16 schools in Manitoba, with an attendance of 816 pupils; in 1892, there were 660, with a school population (*i.e.*, children between the ages of five and sixteen years) of 29,564, and 23,244 pupils. In the Territories, the educational system adopted was under control of a Council of Public Instruction, consisting of the Executive Committee of the Legislative Assembly, and four appointed members without votes. The law provided that no school district should exceed an area of 250 square miles, nor contain less than four resident heads of families, or a smaller school population than 10, *i.e.*, children between the ages of five and twenty. No religious instruction was allowed in any public school before three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time such instruction as was permitted by the trustees might be given, parents having the privilege of withdrawing their children at that hour, if desired. These schools were divided into public schools, Roman Catholic public schools, and Roman Catholic separate schools. In 1887, there were 111 schools, with 125 teachers, and 3,144 pupils. These had increased, in 1892, to 249 schools, with 295 teachers, and 6,170 pupils. In 1893, there were 245 public schools; Roman Catholic public, 26; Roman Catholic separate, 8. Number of pupils on the roll, 7,789, distributed thus: Public schools, 6,698; Roman Catholic, 668; Roman Catholic separate, 423. The expenditure for schools for 1893 was \$121,057.

The early explorers had reported the existence of large coal deposits on the Souris River, the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan, the Red Deer, Belly, Bow, Peace, and Athabasca Rivers, but the impossibility of transporting the coal to the eastern settlements retarded the development of the mines. In the fall of 1884, the first native coal was put

on the market, the product of the Saskatchewan mine at Stair station, on the C.P.R. main line. The coal was a lignite of mediocre quality, and the work of mining it was discontinued. The Galt mine, at Lethbridge, produced a much better fuel, and its output was used in a large number of towns, from Dunmore east to Winnipeg, and also in Montana. The opening of these mines had the effect of reducing the price of coal all along the lines of railway, and proved a great boom to consumers. Upon the opening of the Souris branch of the C.P.R., the coal deposits on that river were opened, and quite a trade resulted, for although the coal first mined was not equal in quality to the Galt coal, its convenience to Winnipeg permitted its being sold at a greatly reduced price, which was taken advantage of by many. In 1891, the Anthracite mine, at Anthracite, Alberta, was developed systematically, and by 1893, its product—a superior quality of hard coal, equal to the best Pennsylvania anthracite—began to replace the imported hard coal in Winnipeg, and in all the other cities and towns of the North-West. From the time the bituminous coals of the Souris and Galt mines, and the anthracite from the Rocky Mountains, were placed on the market, the imports of coal have fallen off very materially, and a very few years will elapse before the last ton of coal will be brought into the North-West from the States. The production of coal in the North-West Territories for seven years was as follows:—

1887,	74,000 tons;
1888,	115,000 tons;
1889,	97,000 tons;
1890,	129,000 tons;
1892,	131,000;
1893,	213,000, including
	65,000 tons of anthracite.

The outcrops of coal on the Red Deer and North Saskatchewan Rivers were only developed for local consumption up to 1893. Their development, and that of the immense deposits which are known to exist farther

north, depends upon the future requirements of the country. The petroleum beds of Athabasca, the salt springs of Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba, the gypsum beds surrounding Lake Martin, and the rich gold placers of Yukon, Peace, and Liard Rivers are as yet undeveloped, and their wealth but little appreciated, or but faintly understood, even by those who should evince the most interest in them—all these, and much more of mineral wealth, lie undisturbed by human hand, but destined by a wise Providence to serve the needs of humanity when the time for their exploitation shall arrive.

The original owners of the North-West, their heritage rendered useless to them by the destruction of the buffalo, naturally turned to the aggressive whites, who had despoiled them, for aid and protection, which, to the honor of Canada's rulers, has not been withheld. Left without his natural resources, the Indian becomes as helpless as an infant, and with over 20,000 of these hapless beings thrown upon their hands, to deal with as best they might, the officials of the Indian department had to face a difficult task. The fact was patent to all that these wards of the nation must be fed, and that would entail an enormous expense; it was therefore deemed a necessity that the Indian should be made self-supporting by gradually weaning him from his nomadic life, and teaching him the peaceful arts of husbandry. To this end, all the energy of the department was addressed, and the results have been most encouraging. In 1893, the Indian population of Manitoba and the Territories numbered 23,608, and they had 17,334 acres of land broken, of which 16,327 was cultivated. They owned 19,492 head of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs. They produced 84,579 bushels of grain, 88,034 bushels of potatoes and other roots, 25,579 tons of hay, and the value of their fish, furs, and

other industries was \$233,493. A remarkable showing, when it is considered how shortly ago they were roaming the plains, despising the industry of the whites, and disdaining all work as unworthy of men and warriors.

For a long time it was very difficult to convince the Indians of the advantages offered their children in the schools established on every reserve, and they, for the most part, absolutely refused to allow the children to attend them. Gradually, however, they began to evince an interest in the schools, and many became anxious to have their children educated. In addition to the common schools on the reserve, the Government established several industrial and boarding schools, where the Indian children are trained: the boys in farming and useful trades, and the girls to household work. There were, in 1893, thirty-two of these industrial and boarding schools in Manitoba and the Territories, and the good accomplished by them is incalculable when considered in its bearing upon the future of our Indians. The number of Indian pupils attending schools in Manitoba and the North-West in 1893, was 3,772. The total appropriation for Indians in 1893 was \$1,197,693.

The unorganized portion of the North-West lying north of the Saskatchewan River, generally alluded to as the "Peace River country," and extending from the Rocky Mountains east to Hudson's Bay, was at one time considered unfit for settlement, and valueless, except as a preserve for fur-bearing animals. In 1888, Senator Schultz moved for a committee of the Senate to enquire into and report upon the capabilities of this vast unknown region. The results of the committee's researches were interesting and gratifying, for instead of the black wilderness which the country was supposed to be, it

was demonstrated that a large portion of it was well fitted for agricultural purposes. In a total area of about 1,260,000 square miles, 860,000 square miles were reported to be suited for cultivation; 316,000 square miles are fitted for wheat-growing, 407,000 for barley, and 656,000 for potatoes and roots. There is a river navigation of about 2,750 miles, 1,390 being navigable with stern wheel steamers, and 1,360 miles with light draught sea-going steamers. There are large deposits of gold, silver, iron, graphite, ochre, brick and pottery clay, mica, gypsum, lime and sandstone. The lakes and rivers abound in fish, especially whitefish and salmon trout. On the extreme northern coast and on the Hudson's Bay, whales are abundant, and afford a valuable industry to the whalers of New England, Washington, and Oregon. Canadians had overlooked this profitable branch of fishing. The climate of the western portion of this region resembles that of Ontario. The only industry developed in this enormous country, as yet, is the fur trade carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company, and a few individual traders. In 1893, the Hudson's Bay Company sold, in London, the following furs, the result of one year's trade, principally from the unorganized portion of the North-West:—Bear, 11,384 skins: beaver, 56,224; fisher, 4,801; fox, (including blue, cross, kitt, red, silver, and white), 20,972; lynx, 8,614; marten, 99,314; mink, 57,879; musquash, 934,540; otter, land, 8,610; otter, sea, 8; seal fur, 404; skunk, 9,182; wolf, 1,551; wolverine, 1,009.

In 1892, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, of the Geological Survey Department made an exploratory survey of the country between the Mackenzie River and the west coast of Hudson's Bay. His party traversed 3,200 miles, of which 2,150 were performed in canoes, 840 miles through an entirely unknown country, and

810 miles on the unexplored shores of Lake Athabasca, Chesterfield Inlet, and Hudson's Bay. Mr. Tyrrell discovered a river as large as the Ottawa and several large lakes; enormous herds of reindeer were seen and photographed; a full collection of plants was made: the distribution of animals, birds and fishes was recorded; reports on the character and habits of the Indians and Eskimo inhabitants, and the nature of the rock and soil were noted. In the following year, Mr. Tyrrell continued his explorations, the results of which will, no doubt, throw new light upon the importance of our northern domain.

The cities and towns of the North-West made substantial progress during the period from 1880 to 1893. Winnipeg's population increased to 35,000, and the value of the trade more than doubled. A clearing-house was established in 1893 and the three months' transactions, ending 31st March, 1894, amounted to \$11,093,294, placing Winnipeg fourth on the list of Canadian cities, in respect to the volume of banking business, and far in advance of much more populous cities in the United States. There were over one thousand business establishments, ten per cent. of which were engaged in wholesale and jobbing business, doing an annual business of some twenty million dollars. Manufactures, mostly on a small scale, had obtained a firm foothold—flour-milling, iron and metal works, brewing, cigar-making, saw and planing mills, furniture and upholstery, harness and saddlery, boots and shoes, tents and awnings, and soap-making, were among the industries represented. Three daily newspapers: the *Free Press*, morning and evening, the *Nor'wester*, and the *Tribune*, evening, and eight weeklies, one German, one Scandinavian, and two Icelandic, were published, besides a number of bi-

monthly and monthly journals devoted to the church, social, educational and literary topics. An efficient electric street car service was in operation, the streets were well-lighted with electric arc lights, and the telephone was an established institution in every business house and office. The western towns had, as a rule, shewn equal progress with Winnipeg. Brandon, "the wheat city," had advanced materially in population, wealth, and volume of trade. Calgary had changed from an isolated trading-post to a compact town of substantial brick and stone buildings, with an electric car service, electric lights, and telephones—and with two railways entering there, besides the C.P.R. main line. Portage la Prairie, the centre of a magnificent farming country, had made material progress. Prince Albert and Edmonton had become thriving towns, the latter especially, the gateway of the great Peace River region, possessing rare opportunities, which its energetic inhabitants were not slow to utilize. Other towns and villages, which had sprung up as if by magic, were doing an increasing local trade, that gave promise of a rich future.

The progress made in the North-West up to 1894 was very satisfactory, and the outlook encouraging to those who were content to make a comfortable living in exchange for a moderate outlay of personal exertion. The idea that a large fortune could be made from every quarter section sown in wheat had been exploded, but it was felt by a majority of the farmers that every homestead would yield a comfortable subsistence to the owner and his family if he cultivated it wisely and economically. The farmers, as a class, were better off than those of any other portion of America, and infinitely more prosperous than those of Great Britain and Europe. The low price of wheat had caused a general depression throughout western

America, but its effects were scarcely felt in the North-West, in comparison with the destitution that existed in Kansas, Nebraska, Idaho, and others of the western States. Political demagogues seized the occasion to make capital against the Conservative administration and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, declaring that the "hard times" were caused by the trade policy of the one and the high freight tariff of the other, heedless, in their blind greed for power, that they were injuring the interests of those whom they professed to serve by picturing the North-West as a failure, a land to be avoided by the farmer and capitalist, and arousing a spirit of sullen discontent in the breasts of its people.

The great hindrance to progress in the North-West has been the continual agitations, promoted by designing politicians, which diverted the ambition and energy of the people from their legitimate industrial pursuits to battle with imagined wrongs and exaggerated troubles. Relieved of the incubus of political partizanship, the country possesses in itself every element of progress and prosperity. Politics may check—as they have checked in the past—its advancement, but its glorious destiny must be accomplished one day. Politicians may prevail, and strut in self-complaisant importance, overriding the will of the people for a time, but Nature and man's necessities must triumph eventually, and the North-West will stand forth in all the glory of a mighty empire, the peer of the most powerful of the nations—a Greater Britain—mistress of half a continent—the home of contented millions.

In the fall of 1894, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the Opposition in the Dominion House of Commons, made a tour of the North-West, and was enthusiastically received wherever he went. On the 3rd September, one of the greatest de-

monstrations that ever took place in Manitoba was held in Winnipeg in honor of the distinguished gentleman, and in a speech which he delivered on that occasion he thus referred to the school question :—"The Legislature of Manitoba passed an Act in 1890. The Catholic minority refused to abide by that Act, and they appealed to the Government at Ottawa. What answer to that appeal have they received since 1891? The Government at Ottawa dilly-dallied with that question, they gave promises on every side, but except these they never gave anything to anybody. Well, Sir, I believe it is the duty of every man to express his opinion as a man upon these subjects. In a country like our own, where there are men of different religions, it is impossible to speak language which would please everybody. It is impossible, if you speak your honest mind, the honest opinion of your heart, to please everybody: but I believe it is possible to use language which will appeal to the honest opinion of every man. Instead of appealing to passions and prejudice, you must appeal to those great principles of liberty which have made the Liberal party the party of reform, of progress, and of freedom. It is upon this principle that I stand. I am a firm believer in Provincial Rights. In the Dominion House of Commons I have stood up for the authority of the provinces. When I took up the petition of my fellow-religionists of Manitoba, complaining of the legislation of the Government of Manitoba, I asked myself what is this complaint? I took the petition of the late Archbishop Taché, a man who I believe was revered in this province by friend and foe. I took up the petition of the Archbishop, and those who signed it with him, and the complaint which was made was that the Government of Manitoba—I speak here in the presence of the members of

the Government—had adopted legislation, which, instead of imposing public schools upon the minority, imposed upon them Protestant schools, and that they were bound to send their children to Protestant schools. On the other hand, the Government of Manitoba denied the statement *in toto*. They did not admit that the legislation had that effect. They did not admit that the legislation was to have the effect of sending Roman Catholic children to Protestant schools. I said to the Government, ‘Here is a simple question of fact. You have to determine whether the statements are true or not:’ but instead of doing that, they went on appealing to the courts, and evading the question. I did more. I said then—I say it here, now—if the complaint of the Catholics was true, that Catholic children had been forced to attend Protestant schools. If that were true, it would be such an outrage upon the rights of conscience that no community would permit it. I said, upon the floor of the House of Commons, ‘Prove to me that the complaint of the Roman Catholic minority is true, that their rights are outraged to this extent, that instead of sending their children to schools where there is no religious teaching, they are forced to send their children to schools where there is religious teaching, and I will be prepared to go before the people of Manitoba and tell them that such legislation should not stand.’ I have nothing else to say in Winnipeg that I have not said on the floor of Parliament in Quebec, and elsewhere. You have heard that question discussed, again and again, by the Prime Minister in papers of State, and I defy any man, friend or foe, Liberal or Conservative, to find a single expression of opinion on the part of the Prime Minister. It is not by such cowardice as this, that we can expect to build up a great nation on this contin-

ent. On this question, as upon every other question, I would scorn to appeal to the feelings of any race, to the passions of my own creed and race. On the present occasion, let me say that the one aim that I have, is to unite all races on this continent into a Canadian nation, to develop the Confederation upon the lines that once impelled Sir John Macdonald and George Brown to cease a life-long struggle and unite for the common good."

The position of Hon. W. Laurier, being of French descent, as leader of the Opposition, having been criticised, he took occasion, in a speech at Montreal, in the following December, to say :—" Gentlemen, I am of French origin as you all know. The blood flows in my veins of that great nation, which excited in turns the admiration, the love, the pity, and the hatred of Europe, but never its indifference. At the same time, I have stated over and over again, that though I am of French origin, and though I am proud of my origin, I love England and I love British Institutions. I have stated that, over and over again, and I must repeat it once more, perhaps in the City of Montreal, I love England, I love British institutions, and why ? Because, under British institutions, under the banner of St. George, my fellow-countrymen and myself, of French origin, have found far greater freedom than we could ever have hoped for had we remained subjects of France. If I wanted examples or precepts of art, I would go to France ; if I wanted philosophical counsels, I would go to Germany ; but, for means of government, for all economic principles, I go to the land of sound government and sound sense, Old England."

We cannot close these pages without reference to the sad loss experienced by Canada in the death of one of her most distinguished sons, Sir John Thompson.

In June, 1891, Sir John A. Macdonald died, and when the master-hand, which, for nearly a quarter of a century, had controlled Canadian destinies, thus disappeared, no one seemed qualified to take his place. In the declining years of Sir John A. Macdonald's life, his supporters in Catholic French Canada and in Protestant Ontario had shewed signs of increased restlessness, and, when his life-long experience and personal magnetism were removed, a great gap appeared in the public life of the Dominion. In point of ability and insight into public affairs one man stood out among the deceased Premier's colleagues, and Lord Stanley of Preston, then Governor-General, at once called upon Sir John Thompson to form a Ministry. But Canada, and particularly Ontario, was passing just then through a wave of religious agitation, following upon a passage of the Jesuits' Estates Bill, and Sir John Thompson wisely saw that the moment was hardly one for the selection of one whose Roman Catholic faith might still further fan the flames of sectarian hate. He declined the honor, and, at his suggestion, the Sir John Joseph Caldwell Abbott, long a colleague of Sir John A. Macdonald, without portfolio, was invited to form a Government, and succeeded in inducing the old Cabinet to follow his leadership until a calmer state of public feeling would allow of a more permanent arrangement.

Sir John Abbott's Premiership was, as he himself said, a "compromise," and when, in November, 1892, ill-health and advancing years demanded the quieter life which he always desired, he stepped out, and Sir John Thompson formally assumed a responsibility, which, as leader of the House of Commons, had practically been his since Sir John A. Macdonald's death. Religious and racial jealousies had by this time lost much of their virulence, and two years experience of the Pre-

mier convinced even the most bitter of his opponents that he was a man to be trusted. No one had cause to impugn his strict personal integrity; his strength of mind and character were undoubted, and hardly less evident was his determination to leave Canadian political life cleaner than he found it.

The session of Parliament, which ended during the summer of 1894, was a long and trying one, and Sir John Thompson, feeling the effects of the strain which had been put upon him, retired to the summer residence of Senator Sanford, at Muskoka, for a period of recreation. In November, he paid a visit to England, for the purpose chiefly of being sworn in as a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council.

On the 12th December, the ceremony took place, after which Sir John Thompson was invited to luncheon at Windsor Castle. At the table, he suddenly became ill, and in a few short moments breathed his last, the cause being, it is said, heart disease. The sad event created a world-wide sympathy for the bereaved family of the dead statesman, and for Canada in the loss of so distinguished a son.

In connection with this event, which at the time caused a profound sensation throughout Canada and Great Britain, and awakened universal regret, we quote the following from the *London Telegraph*, of 13th December, 1894, which is peculiarly suitable to appear in these pages. The *Telegraph* said:—

An event of tragic and startling suddenness occurred yesterday at Windsor Castle, Sir John Thompson, the Canadian Prime Minister, who had just been sworn in as a member of the Privy Council, expired immediately after luncheon, owing, it appears, to heart disease. It is not often that a grave incident of this kind, terminating an honorable and illustrious career of great and varied usefulness to his countrymen, takes place under circumstances so august and so solemn. Sir John Thompson, a man fifty years of age, a lawyer of Nova Scotia, afterwards its Premier, and then, finally, in succession to Mr. Abbott, the First Minister of the

Dominion, came to London about three weeks ago, and went down yesterday morning to Windsor to attend the Council, apparently in the best of health and spirits. On Tuesday night he had attended the Royal Colonial Institute, and had spoken a few generous and patriotic words, especially dwelling on the new ties of cousinly friendship which now unite in close bonds of amity colonies that in earlier times had known little and cared less for each other's concerns. Last night he was to have slept at the Castle, after the honor of dining with the Queen; and when all his visits of duty or pleasure had been concluded, he intended to return to Canada in the middle of next week. Suddenly, in the midst of those courtly functions which, for the Prime Minister as well as for his compatriots across the sea, were the outward and visible symbols of the loyal union between Canada and the mother country, "the fell sergeant, Death, was strict in his arrest," and a valuable life had ceased to be. We do not know whether the loss will be greater to Canada or to England, for while in the one country Sir John Thompson represented the highest legislative and administrative authority, among ourselves he was the embodiment of that supremely English principle of Colonial self-government of which the Dominion furnishes so admirable an example. Six years ago Mr. Thompson was knighted. In 1892, he received the honor of the Canadian Premiership; while it was only last year that the Queen appointed him to her Privy Council. Her Majesty is now foremost in expressing her "very great regret" at his untimely death. Both for his legal abilities and for his uncommon powers of organization and management he had gained a large measure of fame in his own land, and Canada shewed her confidence in him when a few years ago she made him her representative on the Behring Sea Commission.

It is, perhaps, the highest compliment we can pay to his memory to associate his name with that wonderful development in material resources and national spirit which British North America has exhibited ever since the formation of the Dominion. In our hurrying age, where the present so completely absorbs the mental field that we have little inclination or energy to let our imagination recall the past, we are apt to forget through what stormy waves of intrigue, sedition and war Canada has at last emerged into the smoother waters of unity and prosperity. We are all aware, however, that in the sixteenth century Canada was not English but French, and that part of the province we now know as Quebec, was taken possession of by Jacques Cartier, a navigator of St. Malo, in the name of his Sovereign, Francis I. Cartier planted and De Champlain watered, while Jesuit missionaries traversed the land in all directions, not only in order to convert the Indians to their faith, but to consolidate the Far West as an integral portion of the world-wide Empire of France. It is this Gallic origin which has left its mark on all the succeeding annals of

Canada, and if our neighbors across the channel will allow us to say so, has retarded quite as much as it has helped the free development of this magnificent colony. The English came in with their usual territorial acquisitiveness at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century in the form of the Hudson Bay Company, and the struggle between the two nationalities was long and bitter up to the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. In our customary fashion, we had no sooner succeeded to this vast possession than we attempted to adapt British institutions for its use ; but though the French Canadians were given the free exercise of their religion and their civil rights and laws, the jealousy between Upper and Lower Canada culminated in the rebellion of 1837, and outlasted even the well-meant recommendations of Lord Durham. The portion which was occupied by the British loyalists made far quicker progress in population and power than that which was the chosen domain of the French Canadians, and every attempt to adjust Parliamentary representation to the respective numbers of the two parties resulted in fierce party fights and legislative deadlock. Then came the great confederation of the Provinces in 1867, from which dates the rise of Canadian prosperity. Murmurs from time to time are heard which still reveal the existence of latent discords, but, despite the gloomy prophecies of Mr. Goldwin Smith that Canada must ultimately be the heritage of the United States, there is at the present moment, in the opinion of the best authorities, no greater loyalty and devotion to England than are to be found in the Dominion.

All this, it must be remembered, is the natural development of a country which has been conceded the Royal boon of self-government. At the outset, it was natural enough that the restraints of French ecclesiastical and civil rule should clash with the instincts and aptitudes of an Anglo-Saxon love of liberty. As one restriction after another was removed, the special difficulties arising from the attempted union of two diametrically opposed races made themselves increasingly felt ; but the result is one which affords the most complete vindication of our English mode of treating our children across the sea. There was a time when we were foolish enough to try to coerce them, and when our frequent interferences in the exercise of our sovereign rights were the prolific cause of disappointment, disaffection, and loss. We have been wiser in later years, and a more rational system has borne its natural and inevitable results. One of the most striking chapters in colonial history is the absolute liberty we granted to Canada to form a scheme of confederation, such as was suited to her special circumstances and her own desires ; and when the work was done, not by Ministers sitting in Downing-street, but by those on the spot, who were most intimately concerned in its success, we accepted the fruition of their labors without reserve or hesitation, and

set upon it the seal and sanction of Parliament and of law. At the present moment, the home Government is much too wise to interfere with the domestic affairs of the Dominion, which, on its part, loyally co-operates with us in Imperial matters in a spirit of moderation and deference worthy of the highest praise. Nor is this all. Canada, which has probably never been so sympathetically united with the mother country as she now is, sets also the example of a zealous confederacy with other colonies in order to extend the power and influence of the British Empire. What has yet to come from the great colonial conference at Ottawa we do not know ; it is enough for English speaking people in all parts of the world to be sure that the close union between the colonies, fostered by mutual good feeling, and cemented by the material links of telegraph lines and steamships, will, without doubt, redound to the greater glory of our Anglo-Saxon race.

The following is a short sketch of Sir John Thompson's career :—

The Right Hon. Sir John Thompson, K.C.M.G., Q.C., was born in 1844, and entered public life in 1877, when he became a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. He became Premier and Attorney-General of the Province, but retired in 1882 on being appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court. In 1885, Sir John A. Macdonald suggested to him a political career in the Dominion Parliament, and he resigned his judgeship in order to take advantage of the flattering hint. Sir John A. Macdonald singled him out for distinctions, and in the first year of his career in the Dominion Parliament he became a Minister of the Crown. Subsequently he held the portfolio of Minister of Justice, and filled the post of Attorney-General. After the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, he became leader of the Conservative party, and in 1892, on the resignation of Sir J. J. C. Abbott, he was invited by the Viceroy to form a Cabinet. Sir John Thompson did not confine his activity to the Legislature. He took a deep interest in municipal politics, and served for a time as an alderman. He occupied the post of chairman of the Board of School Commissioners, and was a member of the Senate of the University of Halifax. His high legal reputation earned him the appointment by the United States Government to act with the American lawyers before the Fishery Commission, which sat at Halifax in 1877, under the Washington Treaty. Sir John Thompson also assisted the British representatives—Lord Sackville, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Tupper—on the Fishery Commission at Washington in 1877, and was created a K.C.M.G. in the following year, in recognition of his services. It is a matter of recent history that he was selected as one of the British arbitrators in the Behring Sea dispute. As

the leader of the Canadian House of Commons, Sir John Thompson left nothing to be desired. In addition to his sterling personal qualities, he was a brilliant speaker and powerful debater. His tenure of the Canadian Premiership has been marked by much useful legislation, and especially by a strong effort to promote the cause of Imperial unity. It was this attitude of Sir John Thompson and his colleagues which last year led to the holding of the Inter-Colonial Conference at Ottawa, during which he addressed the following words to the delegates assembled in the Senate chamber: "The great object of our hope," he said, "is that, as a result of the deliberations of the Conference, the ocean which divides the colonies shall become the highway for their peoples and their products . . . On this happy occasion, these delegates assemble after long years of self-government in their countries, of greater progress and development than the colonies of any Empire have ever seen in the past, not to consider the prospects of separation from the Mother Country, but to plight our faith anew to each other as brethren, and to plight our faith anew with the Motherland, that faith which has never been broken or tarnished."

The sympathy shown by Her Majesty the Queen toward the family of the deceased Premier, the words of sympathy from our beloved Queen, during a time when Canada suffered so great a loss, will never be forgotten by the Canadian people.

On the death of Sir John Thompson, Hon. Mackenzie Bowell was called upon by the Governor-General to take the reins of government. Mr. Bowell was not only the oldest member of the Cabinet, but he had also distinguished himself while Minister of Trade and Commerce, in advocating and taking an active interest in promoting a closer union of the Colonies of the British Empire. For his great service in this and other respects, Mr. Bowell was created a K.C.M.G. soon after he became Prime Minister of Canada.

On the 7th September, 1893, the following Order-in-Council was passed:—

The Honorable Sir John Thompson, Prime Minister, recommends that the Minister of Trade and Commerce be requested to proceed to Australia

as soon as possible, to confer with the several Governments there with a view to promote the extension of trade between Australia and Canada, and also to confer with those Governments on the subject of a telegraph connecting Canada with Australia. The Committee, on the same recommendation, advise that Your Excellency be pleased to communicate by telegraph with the Governors of the several colonies of Australia, announcing the mission of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, in order that facilities may be furnished by the respective Governments for forwarding the business with which the Minister is charged.

In pursuance of this Order-in-Council, Hon. (Sir) Mackenzie Bowell left Ottawa on the 7th September, and arrived at Vancouver on the 12th. Meetings were held in the principal cities of British Columbia, at which the problems of trade with Australia were discussed, and on the 17th, the Minister of Trade and Commerce sailed from Victoria on his important mission. Hawaiian Islands, New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand, and the Fiji Islands, were all visited. The result of the mission was most satisfactory, and a feeling in favor of a closer trade connection with Canada was created. It was decided then that a conference of delegates from Australasia should be held to fully consider the matter, and in his report relating to his mission, Hon. (Sir) Mackenzie Bowell thus refers to the proposed meeting:—

“The proposition for a conference with delegates from the seven Australasian Colonies arose primarily out of the impossibility of my visiting and holding interviews with the Premiers of the different Colonies, within the time at my disposal. New Zealand was five days’ journey by sea from Sydney, Tasmania two, and Western Australia, six. The four principal Colonies on the main land had been visited, and it would have implied a sojourn abroad for five or six weeks longer if the three other Colonies were to be seen. This fact was realized soon after my arrival at Sydney, and suggestions were made

to have a conference at some central point in Australia before my departure. It was found, however, that at least four of the Legislatures were in session, and that a meeting of delegates could not be arranged in time. After consultation with the Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia, respectively, it was deemed advisable that all the Colonies should send delegates to Canada for the purpose of a conference upon matters of joint interest. The two chief subjects were understood to be : 1st. Closer trade relations between Canada and the Australasian Colonies ; and 2nd. The laying of a Pacific cable of an exclusively British character."

Accordingly, a Colonial Conference opened on the 28th June, 1894, in the Senate Chamber, Ottawa, at which the following delegates were present :—

*From the Government of Her Majesty :*

Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, P.C., G.C.M.G.

*The Dominion of Canada :*

Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, P.C.

" Sir Adolphe Caron, P.C., K.C.M.G.

" G. E. Foster, P.C., LL.D.

Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.B.

*New South Wales :*

Hon. F. B. Sultor, M.L.A.

*Tasmania :*

Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald, M.L.C.

*Cape of Good Hope :*

Hon. Sir Henry de Villiers, K.C.M.G.

Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B.

*South Australia :*

Hon. Thomas Playford.

*New Zealand :*

A. Lee Smith, Esq.

*Victoria :*

Sir Henry Wrixon, K.C.M.G., Q.C.

Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald, M.L.C.

Hon. Simon Fraser, M.L.C.

*Queensland :*

Hon. A. J. Thynne, M.L.C.

Hon. Wm. Forrest, M.L.C.

Hon. (Sir) Mackenzie Bowell was elected President of the Conference, and Sir Adolphe Caron, Vice-President. Addresses of welcome were delivered at the opening His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, and Sir John Thompson.

The former, in the course of his address, spoke as follows :  
 " This occasion, gentlemen, is in no small degree unique. There have been conferences similar in some respects to that which we are now about to inaugurate, but these, we may say, have been rather precursors than precedents, because of the distinctive characteristics, which I make bold to say will characterize your proceedings, and the result of those proceedings. The objects of your meeting are sufficiently well defined. I say 'sufficiently,' because, if on the one hand there had been an attempt to lay down with rigid precision a programme which it might be proposed that you should follow, it might have had a hampering effect in your discussions and conclusions. If, on the other hand, too wide a margin had been left, there might have been an inevitable tendency to diffuseness of discussion, and a want of a practical result ; but, as I say, the objects before you, the development and increase of trade within the Empire, and the means which may be taken to carry out such

an extension, undoubtedly furnish a topic which cannot fail to produce the most significant and valuable discussions and recommendations in the direction which we all desire to pursue." In referring to the presence of the Earl of Jersey, as representing Her Majesty's Government, His Excellency said :—“ We cannot help observing that the fact of a representative of the British Government coming here to listen, to observe, to report, and, as far as he may find occasion to do so, to take part in the discussions, is most significant, and cannot fail to bear fruit.”

Sir John Thompson, during his address, made use of the following memorable words :—

“ Your Excellency has recalled some conferences between colonies which have preceded this, although hardly furnishing examples for it. We cannot but recall, on this occasion, that conferences have taken place between colonies at which they deliberated after years of great development and progress, whether the relations which bound them within the Empire were not too restrictive for their future progress, and whether the time had not come when a separation should take place from the mother land. On this happy occasion these delegates assemble after long years of self-government in their countries, of greater progress and development than the colonies of any empire have ever seen in the past, not to consider the prospects of separation from the mother country, but to plight our faith anew to each other as brethren, and to plight anew with the mother land that faith that has never yet been broken or tarnished.”

The conference sat until the 9th July, and in responding to a motion of thanks, which was carried unanimously, the President Hon. (Sir) MacKenzie Bowell spoke as follows :—

" I need scarcely say that I feel extremely gratified by the manner in which you have adverted to my humble efforts to bring about a meeting of our brother colonists from the different parts of the British Empire. If I had done no other act in my life than this I would be amply rewarded by the success which has so far attended our efforts. I have been but a humble instrument in bringing together the members of this Conference. I have been aided and assisted by my colleagues, by the Premier, and others, and by none more than by my friend the Finance Minister, who takes a deep interest in all trade matters. If the result of this Conference is that which I fondly anticipate it may be, I shall be amply repaid for anything I have done in bringing together representatives from different portions of the Empire, the success and glory of which I have so much at heart. I can assure my friend Sir Henry Wrixon that the remarks I made were not intended to cast any censure upon those who may have differed upon questions which came before this Conference: my remarks were more for the purpose of pointing out the absolute necessity of a great continent like Australasia joining together and speaking, when they go to a future Conference, as Mr. Foster and myself speak when we are here for the whole Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I came to this conclusion, from my hurried visit, and a somewhat busy one, to your colony, that you have nothing to prevent a union between all the colonies and the mainland, that you have none of those difficulties to surmount which presented themselves to the Canadian statesmen when they undertook the great task of uniting the distant and separate Provinces of Canada. You will bear in mind that the Maritime Provinces were separated by an ice band for six months of the

year, which practically prevented the possibility of reaching the central portion of Canada, except through the United States. You then had between Canada and the Great North-West Territories, which were not then in the Dominion, another almost impenetrable barrier of rocks, wood and ice. Then you had the Rocky Mountains to overcome before reaching the Pacific coast. In addition to that, we had that which is equally difficult to overcome, race difficulties and religious difficulties. The great men of the day, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier, the late Hon. George Brown, and the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, the two latter being the leaders of the Liberal party, undertook to forget their differences from provincial standpoints, laid down the hatchet, met as brethren, and came to the conclusion to make one grand Dominion. You have an evidence here to-day that they succeeded."

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## VALEDICTORY.

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IN closing my work on the History of the North-West desire to express my appreciation of, and gratitude for, the kind and generous assistance rendered to me by the librarians and the members of their staff in the following libraries:—

The Library of Parliament, at Ottawa.

The Fraser Institute, Montreal.

The Provincial Government Library of Ontario.

The Public Library, Toronto.

The Provincial Government Library of Manitoba.

The Library of the Historical Society, Winnipeg.

The Provincial Government Library of British Columbia.

To all of these I am deeply indebted for the assistance rendered to me; but, without prejudice to any of the others who were so kind, I wish particularly to refer to Mr. J. Bain, jr., of the Public Library, Toronto, who not only gave me the fullest use of the excellently-arranged library under his charge, but also went out of his way, personally, to render me valuable aid in my research for facts.

I am, however, under special obligations to Mr. Frank I. Clarke, of Winnipeg, for his unceasing efforts to assist me in

the collecting and arranging of data, which I would otherwise have found great difficulty in obtaining.

Without his aid, and that of the other friends already mentioned, my labors would have been much more difficult.

Alex Begg

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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS MENTIONED IN THIS HISTORY.



YEAR.

- 340 B.C. Pythias discovered Iceland.
- 795 A.D. Irish priests formed a settlement in Iceland.
- 860 Naddod, the Norse Viking, discovered Iceland and named it Snowland.
- 864 Gardar, of Swedish extraction, followed, and called it Gardar's Holm.
- 870 Ingolfr and Leif named it Iceland.
- 875 Ingolf, of Norway, went to Iceland with Norse settlers.
- 876 Gambiorn sighted the mainland of America.
- 984 Erik the Red landed in America.
- 987 Leif Erikson landed near where Fall River, Massachusetts is, and named it Vinland.
- 1002 Thorwald Erikson settled in Vinland.
- 1007 Thorfin Karlsefue, with a party of one hundred and fifty-eight, settled in Vinland.
- 1008 Snowe Thorfinnson, the first white child born in America.
- 1011 Freydis visited Vinland with an expedition.
- 1121 Bishop Erik Upsi went as the first missionary to America (Vinland).
- 1170 Madoc, a Welsh Prince, settled in America.

- 1351 A.D. The Black Plague reached Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland.
- 1419 The Portuguese discovered Madeira.
- 1448 The Portuguese discovered the Azores.
- 1449 The Portuguese discovered the Cape de Verd Islands.
- 1477 Columbus visited Iceland.
- 1484 Columbus urged upon the Portuguese King an exploration in search of a western land.
- 1486 The Portuguese discovered the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1492 Columbus sailed from Palos, and in October of the same year discovered America.
- 1493 Columbus returned to Portugal, returning again to America the same year.
- 1497 John Cabot sailed for America.
- Amerigo Vespucci sailed for America.
- 1498 Columbus made his third voyage to America.
- Sebastian Cabot sailed for America.
- 1500 Gaspard Cortereal made a voyage to America.
- 1501 Cortereal made his second voyage and never returned.
- 1502 Miguel Cortereal went in search of his brother Gaspard, and also perished.
- Columbus made his fourth and last voyage.
- 1506 Columbus died.
- Jean Denys visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
- 1508 Thomas Aubert made a voyage to America.
- 1517 Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot sailed to America.
- 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano landed on the shores of what is now North Carolina.
- Estevan Gõmerz attempted to discover a North-West passage.
- 1527 John Rut made a voyage of discovery as far as Labrador.

- 1534 A.D. Jacques Cartier sailed from St. Malo, on his first voyage of discovery.
- 1535 Cartier made his second voyage to America.
- 1536 Hore, a navigator from London, made an unsuccessful voyage of discovery to America.
- 1541 Cartier sailed on his third voyage.
- 1541 Roberval arrived in the St. Lawrence.
- 1542 Roberval fortified France Royal, below Quebec.
- 1543 Cartier brought Roberval home to France.
- 1549 Roberval made his second attempt to colonize Canada.
- 1553 Willoughby and Chancellor sailed to America.
- 1555 Cartier died at St. Malo.
- 1556 Stephen Burroughs conducted a disastrous voyage to America.
- 1557 Martin Frobisher sailed on a voyage of discovery to the north.
- 1558 Nicols and Antoine Zeno wrecked in the North Atlantic.
- 1577 Martin Frobisher made a second attempt at discovery without success.
- 1578 Queen Elizabeth sent Frobisher on his third voyage.
- 1585 John Davis discovered the straits that bear his name.
- 1586 John Davis undertook a second expedition.
- 1587 The year of Davis' third voyage.
- 1599 } Chauvin and Pontegravé formed a post at Tadou-
- 1600 } sac.
- 1603 Champlain made his first and second voyages from Honfleur to the St. Lawrence.
- 1605 The King of Denmark sent John Cunningham on a voyage of discovery, without result.
- Hall and Knight made voyages to the Northern seas.
- 1606 Hall undertook a voyage alone.

- 1607 A.D. Hall and Knight again joined in a voyage to the north.  
The Monopoly of De Monts abolished.  
Henry Hudson made his first voyage to the north.
- 1608 Champlain made his third voyage to Canada, and laid the foundation of Quebec.  
Hudson made his second voyage of discovery.
- 1609 Champlain made his first attempt to penetrate the interior.  
Hudson sailed on his third voyage, and coasted along the southern shore of America.
- 1610 Hudson made his fourth and last voyage, when he discovered Hudson's Bay, and lost his life.
- 1611 Champlain established a post on the site of the City of Montreal.
- 1612 Captain Button entered Hudson's Bay.
- 1613 Champlain undertook an expedition up the Ottawa.
- 1614 The Recollet missionary priests first arrived at Quebec.
- 1614 Captain Gibbons made a voyage to the north.
- 1615 Father le Caron discovered Lake Nipissing.  
Captains Bylot and Baffin passed through Hudson's Straits.  
Champlain sailed up the Ottawa, and visited Lake Huron.
- 1618 Jens Munk traversed Davis Strait.
- 1622 Company of Montmorency formed.
- 1625 The first Jesuit priests arrived at Quebec.
- 1627 The company of One Hundred Associates was formed.
- 1628 Formation of the Beaver Fur Company.
- 1629 Quebec capitulated to the English.
- 1631 Captain Luke Fox entered Hudson's Bay.  
Captain James discovered James' Bay.
- 1632 Canada once more passed into the hands of the French.

- 1634 A.D. Nicolet started on his famous journey of exploration.  
The French population of Canada numbered 150 souls.
- 1635 Champlain died.
- 1636 Father John Dolbeau met the Esquimaux.
- 1640 Fathers Joques and Raymbault visited Sault Ste. Marie.  
Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumonot discovered Lake Erie.
- 1641 Fathers Joques and Raymbault discovered Lake Superior.
- 1642 Father Joques discovered Lake George.
- 1646 Father Du Quen discovered Lake St. John.
- 1649 Groseillier and Radisson pushed their way beyond Lake Superior.
- 1653 Father Poncet sailed down the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario.
- 1656 Jean Bourdon entered Hudson's Bay.
- 1660 The Jesuits traced a map of Lake Superior.
- 1662 Groseillier and Radisson reached Hudson's Bay overland.
- 1663 Father La Couture, the first missionary priest, visited Hudson's Bay.
- 1665 Father Allouez found copper on Lake Superior.
- 1667 Father Allouez discovered Lake Nipigon.
- 1668 Capt. Gillam, in the *Nonsuch*, entered Hudson's Bay.
- 1669 Joliet and Peré penetrated to and wintered on the shores of Lake Ontario.  
Captain Newland entered Port Nelson, Hudson's Bay.
- 1670 Sainte Lussion and Perrot travelled to Lakes Huron and Superior.  
Prince Rupert was granted the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company.

- 1671 A.D. Father Charles Albanel made the first overland journey by the Saguenay to Hudson's Bay.
- 1678 Du Luth explored the land of the Dacotahs and Assiniboines.
- 1680 Capt. Draper entered Port Nelson, Hudson's Bay.
- 1682 Hudson's Bay Company built a factory at Nelson River.
- 1686 Chevalier De Troyes captured Rupert, Moose, and Albany forts.
- 1690 Monsieur D'Iberville captured Fort Severn.
- 1695 The English retook the forts on Hudson's Bay.
- 1697 The treaty of Ryswick left the French in possession of Hudson's Bay, except at Albany.
- 1713 The treaty of Utrecht restored to the Hudson's Bay Company possession of the bay.
- 1717 Robertal de Lanoue built a fort at Kaministiquie.
- 1719 Captains Barlow and Knight made explorations for a North-West passage.  
The ships *Prosperous*, *Success*, *Albany* and *Discovery* made voyages to Hudson's Bay; the two latter never returned.
- 1721 The ships *Prosperous*, *Whalebone*, and *Success*, made voyages to Hudson's Bay; last named lost.
- 1722 Capt. Scroggs conducted a North-West passage exploring party.
- 1731 Verandrye left Montreal for Lake Superior with Father Messager, the first missionary of the North-West.
- 1732 Verandrye built Fort St. Charles at the Lake of the Woods.
- 1736 The massacre at Fort Maurepas took place.
- 1737 Ships *Churchill* and *Musquash* made voyages to Hudson's Bay.
- 1742 Capt. Middleton endeavored to find a North-West passage.

- 1742 A.D. The Hudson's Bay Company built a fort 150 miles inland up the Albany river.  
One of Verandrye's sons reached the Missouri.
- 1746 The Dobbs-Galley expedition to the north took place.
- 1749 Verandrye died.
- 1760 Sir Alexander Mackenzie was born.
- 1762 The French obtained possession of Canada.
- 1763 The Treaty of Paris, by which Canada was ceded to the English.
- 1765 English traders first entered the North-West.
- 1767 English traders penetrated to the Saskatchewan.
- 1770 Hearne started on his exploration of the Coppermine river.  
Cumberland Post established.
- 1773 Captains Phillips and Lutwidge sailed on a voyage of discovery north.
- 1776 Floods at Red River.
- 1779 First formation of the North-West Company.
- 1782 LaPerouse captured the Hudson's Bay forts on the Bay.
- 1784 John Jacob Astor arrived in New York.  
Reconstruction of the North-West Company.  
Trading Expedition under Umfreville sent to the North-West.
- 1789 Sir Alexander Mackenzie started on his exploration to the north.
- 1792 Sir Alexander Mackenzie started on his second journey of discovery.
- 1790 Floods at Red River.
- 1793 Hudson's Bay Company made their first appearance at Red River.
- 1797 Fort Pembina erected.  
Falls of Sault Ste. Marie first surveyed.
- 1798 Formation of the XY Company.
- 1805 A coalition of the North-West and XY companies took place.

- 1805 A.D. Trading Post established at Fort McLeod.
- 1806 Trading Post at Stuart Lake established.  
Fort Gibraltar erected by the North-West Company.  
Last attempt of private merchants in Montreal engaging in North-West Fur trade.
- 1807 Trading Post at Fort George established.  
Beginning of the Oregon dispute.
- 1808 Thompson River discovered.  
Simon Fraser and John Stuart explored the Columbia.
- 1809 South-West Fur Company established.  
Floods at Red River.
- 1810 The North-West Company pushed across the Rocky Mountains.  
The *Tonquin* sailed for the Pacific coast.
- 1811 Astoria was founded.  
The *Beaver* sailed for the Pacific coast.  
The first Selkirk settlers left Stornoway.
- 1812 Arrival at Red River of the first Selkirk settlers.  
Fort Douglas erected by the Hudson's Bay Company.
- 1813 Astoria fell into the hands of the North-West Company.
- 1816 Murder of Governor Semple.
- 1817 First Indian Treaty in the North-West.
- 1818 The expeditions of Buchan and Franklin, and of Ross and Parry.  
Fathers Provencher and Doumoulin arrive as missionaries at Red River.  
Grasshopper visitation at Red River.  
International Boundary Convention.
- 1819 Franklin made a survey of the Coppermine river.  
Capt. Parry sailed to the North Sea.
- 1820 Sir John Franklin's exploration of North-West.

- 1820 A.D. Rev. John West, the first Protestant missionary, arrived at Red River.  
Lord Selkirk died.  
Sir Alexander Mackenzie died.
- 1821 Coalition of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies.  
First Deed Poll of the Hudson's Bay Company.
- 1822 Sir George Simpson's journey across the continent.  
The Bishopric of Juliopolis (St. Boniface) was formed.
- 1824 Exploration of Parry and Lyon.  
Beechey's expedition to Behring Sea.  
Franklin's expedition by Mackenzie River.
- 1825 The Red River overflowed its banks.
- 1826 Sir John Franklin's exploration of North-West.  
International Boundary Commission concluded its labors.
- 1827 Captain Parry's exploration to the north.
- 1829 Sir John Ross's expedition.
- 1831 Hudson's Bay Company built Lower Fort Garry.
- 1832 Sir George Back's voyage of discovery.
- 1834 Second Deed Poll of the Hudson's Bay Company.  
First hostile demonstration of Half-Breeds against the Hudson's Bay Company.
- 1835 First Council of Assiniboia convened.
- 1836 Sir George Back's naval expedition to the north.  
The first petty jury empanelled in the North-West
- 1837 Simpson and Dease expedition.
- 1838 Renewal of the Hudson's Bay Company's license of 1821.
- 1839 The first Recorder of Rupert's Land appointed.  
The Hudson's Bay Company leased Alaska from Russia.
- 1842 The Ashburton Treaty.
- 1845 Franklin and Crozier's unfortunate expedition in the *Erebus* and *Terror*.

- 1846 A.D. Dr. John Rae's Arctic expedition.  
The 49th parallel agreed upon as the boundary line.  
British Troops under Lieut.-Col. Crofton sent to Red River.
- 1848 Expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin, by Moore and Kellet, Richardson and Rae, and Ross and Bird.
- 1849 Free Trade declared by the French Half-Breeds at Fort Garry.  
The Bishopric of Rupert's Land formed.
- 1850 Expeditions to the North—Collinson and McClure, Capt Austin, Capt. Penny.
- 1851 Rev. John Black, first Presbyterian Minister, arrived at Red River.
- 1852 Expedition in search of Franklin, by Belcher and others.  
The Red River overflowed its banks.
- 1853 Dr. John Rae discovers relics of the Franklin expedition.
- 1857 Capt. Palliser starts on his exploration through the North-West.  
Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Company.  
Grasshopper visitation at Red River.
- 1858 The Hind-Dawson surveys.  
First attempt at regular mail service.  
Vancouver Island made a Crown colony.  
Cartier, Ross & Galt, visited England on North-Western affairs.
- 1859 The first newspaper, *Nor'wester*, started at Red River.  
The Hudson's Bay Company's license expired.
- 1860 The Hudson's Bay Company abandoned Oregon and Washington.  
Death of Sir George Simpson.

- 1860 A.D. Destruction of the St. Boniface Cathedral by fire.
- 1861 First steamer, the *Pioneer*, placed on the Red River.  
The Red River overflowed its banks.
- 1862 St. John's Cathedral opened.
- 1864 Grasshopper visitation at Red River.  
Appointment of Mr. Wm. Mactavish as Governor at Fort Garry.  
First through mail to St. Paul.
- 1865 Hon. Geo. Brown's visit to England on the Hud-Bay Company question.
- 1867 Passing of the British North America Act.  
Hon. Wm. McDougall introduced North-West Resolutions in Canadian Parliament.  
First attempt made to establish a general trade between Canada and the North-West.
- 1868 Visit of Cartier and McDougall to England, to settle terms of transfer of North-West.  
Grasshopper visitation and starvation.  
Commencement of the Lake of the Woods road.
- 1869 Conclusion of negotiations for transfer of North-West to Canada.  
Hon. Wm. McDougall appointed Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Territories.  
Visit of Hon. Jos. Howe to the North-West.  
Mr. McDougall prevented from entering the Red River Settlement.  
French Half-Breeds take Fort Garry.  
Father Thibault and Col. De Salaberry, sent as commissioners to Red River.  
Hon. Donald A. Smith, as special commissioner, arrives at Fort Garry.  
Mass meeting to hear Hon. Donald A. Smith.  
Convention of English and French settlers.  
Bill of Rights framed.  
Delegates to Ottawa appointed.

- 1869 A.D. The Provisional Government.
- 1870 Murder of Scott.
- Departure of Governor Mactavish from Fort Garry,  
and death in England.
- Arrival of Archbishop Taché as commissioner.
- Departure of delegates for Ottawa.
- The passing of the Manitoba Act.
- Departure of first expedition under Col. Wolseley,  
and entrance into Fort Garry.
- Flight of Riel.
- Lieut.-Governor Archibald arrives at Fort Garry,  
Sept. 2nd.
- First elections held for Manitoba Legislature, Dec.  
30th.
- 1871 First Executive Council of Manitoba appointed,  
January 10th.
- First election of Manitoba members to House of  
Commons, March 2nd.
- First General Quarterly Court of Manitoba, held  
May 16th.
- First Legislative Council appointed 10th March.
- Indian Treaty, No. 1, concluded 3rd August.
- Indian Treaty, No. 2, concluded 21st August.
- First stage from Abercrombie in September.
- Fenian Raid—October.
- Telegraph communication opened *via* United States,  
20th Nov.
- Arrival of second expedition of volunteers from  
Canada, 18th November.
- Appointment of John Sutherland and M. A. Girard  
as first Senators, December.
- Main-street, Winnipeg, graded first time, May.
- First batch of immigrants from Ontario arrived  
26th April.
- Gilbert McMicken, first Dominion Lands Agent,  
arrived October.

- 1871 A.D. First public school, October.  
First Canadian Pacific Railway bill introduced in Parliament by Mr. Waddington.  
Manitoba College opened, October.  
Railway surveys under Sandford Fleming commenced.
- 1872 Lieut.-Governor Archibald resigned and left Manitoba, August.  
Lieut.-Governor Morris appointed.  
International Boundary Commission commenced operations, September.  
Second Canadian Pacific Railway Act passed.  
The Canada Pacific and Inter-Oceanic Railway Acts passed.
- 1873 Riel took the oath as member of Parliament.  
Organization of the North-West Council, January.  
First North-West Council appointed.  
The Sir Hugh Allan railway charter passed.  
Ambroise Lepine arrested, 23rd September.  
Indian Treaty, No. 3, 3rd October.  
Winnipeg incorporated.  
The Mounted Police Act assented to, 23rd May.  
Formation of Mounted Police force, commenced September.
- 1874 Clarke Government resigned, July.  
Formation of Girard Government, July.  
Indian Treaty, No. 4, 15th September.  
Lepine sentenced to be hanged, 4th November.  
Riel expelled from the House of Commons, 15th April.  
Pacific Railway Act passed.  
Grasshopper visitation.  
Formation of Davis Government, December.  
Sir John A. Macdonald's Government resigned 5th November.  
Contract for the Pembina Railway let to Joseph Whitehead.

- 1875 A.D. Indian Treaty No. 5, 20th and 24th September.  
 Lepine's sentence commuted to two years' imprisonment, 25th January.  
 The International Boundary survey fully completed.  
 Organization of the North-West Territories.  
 Amnesty granted, February.  
 Riel declared an outlaw, 24th February.  
 Dr. Bell made an examination of James' Bay.
- 1876 Indian Treaty No. 6, 23rd and 28th August, and 9th September.  
 First regular mail to Saskatchewan.  
 Telegraph opened to Battle River.  
 Lieut.-Governor Laird and North-West Council sworn in, 27th November.
- 1877 Indian Treaty No. 7, 22nd September.  
 Hon. Joseph Cauchon appointed Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, October.  
 Lord Dufferin visited the North-West.  
 Dr. Bell continued his explorations of Hudson's Bay.
- 1878 The Norquay Administration formed, October.  
 The Mackenzie Government defeated, October.  
 Last spike on Pembina Branch Railway driven 3rd December.  
 First regular train arrived at St. Boniface, 9th December.  
 Survey of Nelson River made.
- 1879 Hon. Edgar Dewdney appointed Superintendent of Indians.  
 Sir Charles Tupper introduced Pacific Railway resolutions, 10th May.  
 Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John A. Macdonald go to England to raise money for Pacific Railway.  
 Survey of Nelson River continued.

- 1880 A.D. Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. J. C. Pope, and Lt.-Col. Dennis, go to England to interest capitalists in Pacific Railway.  
The Canadian Pacific Railway contract submitted 10th December.  
Survey and map made of Nelson River district.
- 1881 Lord Lorne visits the North-West.  
Bill for the incorporation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, passed 17th February.  
Bill for extension of Manitoba's boundaries, passed March.  
Commencement of the Winnipeg boom.  
Telephone established in Winnipeg.  
Sitting Bull surrendered to the American authorities, 21st July.
- 1882 Hon. J. C. Aikins appointed Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, 2nd December.  
Chief Justice Wood died 7th October.  
North-West Territory divided into postal districts, 8th May.  
Capital of Territories moved to Regina, 27th March.  
Winnipeg first lit by gas, 1st June.  
Electric fire system in Winnipeg.  
Canada North-West Land Company formed.
- 1883 Serious trouble between Manitoba and Ontario over the boundary.  
Regina made headquarters Mounted Police, 27th March.  
Dispute between the Dominion and British Columbia settled.  
C.P.R. Lake steamers built.
- 1884 Hon. Alexander Mackenzie visited the North-West.  
Canadian Volunteers go to Egypt under Wolseley.

- 1884 A.D. Riel leaves Montana for the Saskatchewan.  
Discontent among settlers on the Saskatchewan.  
Select committee of House of Commons, Ottawa,  
on Hudson's Bay route.  
Lieut. Gordon's first exploration of Hudson's Bay.
- 1885 Last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway driven  
by Sir Donald A. Smith, 7th Nov.  
Fight at Duck Lake, 26th March.  
Carlton burned, 27th March.  
Massacre at Frog Lake, 2nd April.  
Battle of Fish Creek, 24th April.  
Cut Knife Fight, 2nd May.  
Capture of Batoche, 12th May.  
Riel taken prisoner.  
Poundmaker surrenders, 26th May.  
Big Bear arrested, 3rd July.  
Riel's trial commenced, 20th July.  
Riel executed, 16th Nov.  
Eight Indians hanged at Regina, 27th Nov.  
Canadian Pacific Telegraph line completed from  
Atlantic to Pacific, 24th Jan.  
Lord Lansdowne visited the North-West.  
First shipment of wool from Alberta ranches.  
First issue of Manitoba Provincial bonds.  
Lieut. Gordon's second expedition to Hudson's  
Bay.
- 1886 Sir John A. Macdonald visited the North-West.  
Regina and Long Lake Railway opened for traffic,  
7th June.  
The Canadian Pacific Railway Company became  
free of debt to the Dominion Government.  
Lieut. Gordon continues his exploration of Hud-  
son's Bay.
- 1887 Red River Valley Railway Act passed, 31st May.  
Hudson's Bay Company placed a steamer on Atha-  
basca and Slave Rivers.

- 1887 A.D. The Red River Valley Railway Act disallowed.  
First shipment of cattle from North-West ranches.  
First sod of the Red River Valley Railway, turned  
2nd July, by Hon. John Norquay.  
Territories divided into Judicial districts, 18th  
Feb.  
Hon. John Norquay resigned, 22nd Dec.  
The Harrison Administration formed, 26th Dec.
- 1888 The Harrison Government resigned, 19th Jan.  
Formation of the Greenway Government, January.  
C.P.R. relinquishes monopoly clause of charter.
- 1888 Sir George Stephen retires from Presidency of  
C.P.R.  
Sir W. C. Van Horne elected President C.P.R.  
Hon. J. C. Schultz appointed Lieutenant-Governor  
of Manitoba, and took office, 2nd July.  
North-West Territories Act passed.  
Hon. Joseph Royal sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor  
of North-West Territories, 4th July.
- 1889 Dalton McCarthy's Memorable Visit to the North-  
West.  
Death of Hon. A. G. B. Bannatyne, 18th May.  
Death of Hon. John Norquay, 5th July.  
Death of Hon. H. J. Clarke, 13th September.  
Lord and Lady Stanley Visited the North-West.
- 1890 The Empress of China Line of Steamers began.
- 1891 T. G. Shaughnessy elected Vice-President C. P. R.  
Hon. Gilbert McMicken died, 7th March.  
Death of Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, 6th  
June.
- 1892 Lord Mount Stephen retires altogether from the  
Board of Directors of C. P. R.  
Senator Girard died, 12th Sept.
- 1893 Consul J. W. Taylor died, 28th April.  
C. H. Mackintosh, appointed Lieut.-Governor of  
North-West Territories.

- 1893 A.D. Right Reverend Robert Machray, Metropolitan of  
Rupert's Land, elected Primate of all Canada,  
Archbishop of Rupert's Land, and Metropolitan.
- 1894 Earl and Countess of Aberdeen visited the North-  
West, September.  
Hon. Wilfrid Laurier visited the North-West.  
Death of Sir John Thompson, Premier of Canada,  
12th December.
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## APPENDIX.



1. Canadian Pacific Railway Contract and Agreement.
2. The Manitoba School Case.





## APPENDIX.

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### No. 1.

THIS CONTRACT AND AGREEMENT MADE BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, acting in respect of the Dominion of Canada, and herein represented and acting by the Honorable SIR CHARLES TUPPER, K.C.M.G., Minister of Railways and Canals, and George Stephen and Duncan McIntyre of Montreal, in Canada ; John S. Kennedy of New York, in the State of New York ; Richard B. Angus and James J. Hill of St. Paul, in the State of Minnesota ; Morton, Rose & Co., of London, England ; and Kohn, Reinach & Co., of Paris, France.

Witnesses : That the parties hereto have contracted and agreed with each other as follows, namely :—

1. For the better interpretation of this contract, it is hereby declared that the portion of Railway hereinafter called the Eastern Section, shall comprise that part of the Canadian Pacific Railway to be constructed, extending from the Western terminus of the Canada Central Railway, near the East end of Lake Nipissing, known as Callandar Station, to a point of junction with that portion of the said Canadian Pacific Railway now in course of construction extending from Lake Superior to Selkirk, on the East side of Red River ; which latter portion is hereinafter called the Lake Superior Section. That the portion of said Railway, now partially in course of construction, extending from Selkirk to Kamloops, is hereinafter called the Central Section ; and the portion of said Railway, now in course of construction, extending from Kamloops to Port Moody, is hereinafter called the Western Section. And that the words “ the Canadian Pacific Railway, ” are intended to mean the entire Railway, as described in the Act 27th Victoria, cap. 14. The individual parties hereto, are hereinafter described as the Company, and the Government of Canada is hereinafter called the Government.

2. The contractors, immediately after the organization of the said Company, shall deposit with the Government \$1000,000 in cash or approved securities, as a security for the construction of the Railway hereby contracted for. The Government shall pay to the Company interest on the cash deposited at the rate of four per cent. per annum, half-yearly, and shall pay over to the Company the interest received upon securities deposited, the whole until default in performance of the conditions hereof, or until the repayment of the deposit, and shall return the deposit to the Company on the completion of the Railway, according to the terms hereof, with any interest accrued thereon.

3. The Company shall lay out, construct and equip the said Eastern Section, and the said Central Section, of a uniform gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches, and in order to establish an approximate standard whereby the quality and the character of the Railway and of the materials used in the construction thereof, and of the equipment thereof, may be regulated, the Union Pacific Railway of the United States, as the same was when first constructed, is hereby selected and fixed as such standard. And if the Government and the Company should be unable to agree as to whether or not any work done or materials furnished under this contract are in fair conformity with such standard, or as to any other question of fact, excluding questions of law, the subject of disagreement shall be from time to time referred to the determination of three referees, one of whom shall be chosen by the Government, one by the Company, and one by the two referees so chosen, and such referees shall decide as to the party by whom the expense of such reference shall be defrayed. And if such two referees should be unable to agree upon a third referee, he shall be appointed at the instance of either party hereto, after notice to the other, by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada the decision of such referee, or of the majority of them, shall be final.

4. The work of construction shall be commenced at the eastern extremity of the Eastern Section not later than the 1st day of July next, and the work upon the Central Section shall be commenced by the Company at such point towards the eastern end thereof on the portion of the line now under construction as shall be found convenient and as shall be approved by the Government, at a date not later than the 1st May next. And the work upon the Eastern and Central sections shall be vigorously and continuously carried on at such rate of annual progress on each section as shall enable the Company to complete and equip the same and each of them in running order, on or before the first day of May, 1891, by which date the Company hereby agree to complete and equip the said sections in conformity with this contract, unless prevented by the act of God, the Queen's enemies, intestine disturbances, epidemics, floods, or other causes beyond the control of the Company. And in case of the

interruption or obstruction of the work of construction from any of the said causes, the time fixed for the completion of the Railway shall be extended for a corresponding period.

5. The Company shall pay to the Government, the cost, according to the contract of the portion of the railway, 100 miles in length, extending from the City of Winnipeg westward up to the time at which the work was taken out of the hands of the contractor, and the expenses since incurred by the Government in the work of construction, but shall have the right to assume the said work at any time, and complete the same, paying the cost of construction as aforesaid, so far as the same shall then have been incurred by the Government.

6. Unless prevented by the act of God, the Queen's enemies, intestine disturbances, epidemics, floods, or other causes beyond the control of the Government, the Government shall cause to be completed the said Lake Superior section, by the dates fixed by the existing contracts for the construction thereof; and shall also cause to be completed the portion of the said Western Section now under contract, namely, from Kamloops to Yale, within the periods fixed by the contract therefor, namely, by the thirtieth day of June, 1885; and shall also cause to be completed, on or before the first day of May, 1891, the remaining portion of the said Western Section, lying between Yale and Port Moody, which shall be constructed of equally good quality in every respect with the standard hereby created for the portion hereby contracted for. And the said Lake Superior Section, and the portion of the said Western Section now under contract, shall be completed as nearly as practicable according to the specifications and conditions of the contracts therefor, except in so far as the same have been modified by the Government prior to this contract.

7. The Railway constructed under the terms hereof shall be the property of the Company; and pending the completion of the Eastern and Central Sections, the Government shall transfer to the Company the possession and right to work and run the several portions of the Canadian Pacific Railway already constructed, or as the same shall be completed. And upon the completion of the Eastern and Central Sections, the Government shall convey to the Company, with a suitable number of station buildings, and with water service (but without equipment), those portions of the Canadian Pacific Railway constructed or to be constructed by the Government which shall then be completed; and upon completion of the remainder of the portion of railway to be constructed by the Government, that portion shall also be conveyed to the Company, and the Canadian Pacific Railway shall become, and be thereafter the absolute property of the Company. And the Company shall thereafter and forever efficiently maintain, work and run the Canadian Pacific Railway.

8. Upon the reception from the Government of the possession of each

of the respective portions of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Company shall equip the same in conformity with the standard herein established for the equipment of the sections hereby contracted for, and shall thereafter maintain and efficiently operate the same.

9. In consideration of the premises, the Government agree to grant to the Company a subsidy in money of \$25,000,000, and in land of 25,000,000 acres, for which subsidies the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall be completed, and the same shall be equipped, maintained and operated, the said subsidies respectively to be paid and granted as the work of construction shall proceed, in manner and upon the conditions following, that is to say :—

a. The said subsidy in money is hereby divided and appropriated as follows, namely :—

#### CENTRAL SECTION.

Assumed at 1,350 miles—

1st.—900 miles, at \$10,000 per mile. . . . .	\$9,000,000	
2nd.—450 “ “ 13,333 “ “ . . . . .	6,000,000	
	—————	\$15,000,000

#### EASTERN SECTION.

Assumed at 650 miles, subsidy equal to \$15,384.61 per mile. . . . .	\$10,000,000	
	—————	\$25,000,000

And the said subsidy in land is hereby divided and appropriated as follows, subject to the reserve hereafter provided for.

#### CENTRAL SECTION.

1st —900 miles, at 12,500 acres per mile. . . . .	\$11,250,000	
2nd,—450 “ “ 16,666,66 “ “ . . . . .	7,500,000	
	—————	\$18,750,000

#### EASTERN SECTION.

Assumed at 650 miles, subsidy equal to 9,615.35 acres per mile. . . . .	\$6,250,000	
	—————	\$23,000,000

b. Upon the construction of any portion of the railway hereby contracted for, not less than 20 miles in length, and the completion thereof so as to admit of the running of regular trains thereon, together with such equipment thereof as shall be required for the traffic thereon, the Government shall pay and grant to the company the money and land subsidies applicable thereto, according to the division and appropriation thereof made, as hereinbefore provided; the company having the option of receiving in lieu of cash, terminable bonds of the Government, bearing such

rate of interest for such period and nominal amount as may be arranged, and which may be equivalent according to actuarial calculation to the corresponding cash payment, the Government allowing four per cent. interest on monies deposited with them.

c. If at any time the company shall cause to be delivered on or near the line of the said Railway, at a place satisfactory to the Government, steel rails and fastenings to be used in the construction of the railway, but in advance of the requirements for such construction, the Government, on the requisition of the company, shall, upon such terms and conditions as shall be determined by the Government, advance thereon three-fourths of the value thereof at the place of delivery. And a proportion of the amount so advanced shall be deducted according to such terms and conditions from the subsidy to be thereafter paid, upon the settlement for each section of 20 miles of railway, which proportion shall correspond with the proportion of such rails and fastenings which have been used in construction of such sections.

d. Until the first day of January, 1882, the company shall have the option, instead of issuing land grant bonds as hereinafter provided, of substituting the payment by the Government of the interest (or part of the interest) on bonds of the company, mortgaging the railway and the lands to be granted by the Government, running over such term of years as may be approved by the Governor-in-Council in lieu of the cash subsidy hereby agreed to be granted to the company or any part thereof ; such payments of interest to be equivalent according to actuarial calculation to the corresponding cash payment, the Government allowing four per cent. interest on monies deposited with them ; and the coupons representing the interest on such bonds shall be guaranteed by the Government to the extent of such equivalent. And the proceeds of the sale of such bonds to the extent of not more than \$25,000,000, shall be deposited with the Government, and the balance of such proceeds shall be placed elsewhere by the company, to the satisfaction, and under the exclusive control of the Government ; failing which last condition, the bonds in excess of those sold shall remain in the hands of the Government. And from time to time as the work proceeds, the Government shall pay over to the company : firstly, out of the amount so to be placed by the company—and, after the expenditure of that amount, out of the amount deposited with the Government—sums of money bearing the same proportion to the mileage cash subsidy hereby agreed upon, which the net proceeds of such sale (if the whole of such bonds are sold upon the issue thereof) or, if such bonds be not all then sold, the net proceeds of the issue, calculated at the rate at which the sale of part of them shall have been made, shall bear to the sum of \$25,000,000. But if only a portion of the bond issue be sold, the amount earned by the company according to the portion aforesaid,

shall be paid to the company, partly out of the bonds in the hands of the Government, and partly of the cash deposited with the Government, in similar proportions to the amount of such bonds sold and remaining unsold respectively ; and the company shall receive the bonds so paid as cash at the rate at which the said partial sale thereof shall have been made. And the Government will receive and hold such sum of money towards the creation of a sinking fund for the redemption of such bonds and upon such terms and conditions as shall be agreed upon between the Government and the company.

*c.* If the company avail themselves of the option granted by clause *d*, the sum of \$2,000 per mile for the first eight hundred miles of the Central section shall be deducted *pro rata* from the amount payable to the company in respect of the said eight hundred miles, and shall be appropriated to increase the mileage cash subsidy appropriated to the remainder of the said Central section.

10. In further consideration of the premises the Government shall also grant to the company the lands required for the road-bed of the railway, and for its stations, station grounds, workshops, dock ground and water frontage at the termini on navigable waters, buildings, yards, and other appurtenances required for the convenient and effectual construction and working of the railway, in so far as such land shall be vested in the Government. And the Government shall also permit the admission free of duty, of all steel rails, fish-plates and other fastenings, spikes, bolts and nuts, wire, timber and ail material for bridges, to be used in the original construction of the railway, and of a telegraph line in connection therewith, and all telegraphic apparatus required for the first equipment of such telegraph line. And will convey to the company, at cost price, with interest, all rails and fastenings bought in or since the year 1879, and other materials for construction in the possession of or purchased by the Government at a valuation ; such rails, fastenings and materials not being required by it for the construction of the said Lake Superior and western sections.

11. The grant of land hereby agreed to be made to the company, shall be so made in alternate sections of 640 acres each, extending back 24 miles deep, on each side of the railway, from Winnipeg to Jasper House, in so far as such lands shall be invested in the Government, the company receiving the sections bearing uneven numbers. But should any of such sections consist in a material degree of land not fairly fit for settlement the company shall not be obliged to receive them as part of such grant, and the deficiency thereby caused and any further deficiency which may arise from the insufficient quantity of land along the said portion of railway, to complete the said 25,000,000 acres, or from the prevalence of lakes and water stretches in the sections granted (which lakes and water

stretches shall not be computed in the acreage of such sections), shall be made up from other portions to be selected by the company in the tract known as the fertile belt, that is to say, the land lying between parallels 49 and 57 degrees of north latitude, or elsewhere, at the option of the company, by the grant therein of similar alternate sections extending back 24 miles deep on each side of any branch line or lines of railway to be located by the company, and to be shown on a map or plan thereof deposited with the Minister of Railways: or, of any common frontline or lines agreed upon between the Government and the company, the conditions hereinbefore stated as to lands not fairly fit for settlement to be applicable to such additional grants. And the company may, with the consent of the Government, select in the North-West Territories any tract or tracts of land not taken up, as a means of supplying or partially supplying such deficiency. But such grants shall be made only from lands remaining vested in the Government.

12. The Government shall extinguish the Indian title affecting the lands herein appropriated, and to be hereafter granted in aid of the railway.

13. The company shall have the right, subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council, to lay out and locate the line of the railway hereby contracted for, as they may see fit, preserving the following terminal points, namely: from Callendar station to the point of junction with the Lake Superior section; and from Selkirk to the junction with the western section at Kamloops by way of the Yellow Head Pass.

14. The company shall have the right, from time to time, to lay out, construct, equip, maintain and work branch lines of railway from any point or points along their main line of railway, to any point or points within the territory of the Dominion. Provided always, that before commencing any branch they shall first deposit a map and plan of such branch in the Department of Railways. And the Government shall grant to the company the lands required for the road-bed of such branches, and for the stations, station grounds, buildings, workshops, yards and other appurtenances requisite for the efficient construction and working of such branches in so far as such lands are vested in the Government.

15. For 20 years from the date hereof, no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from any point at or near the Canadian Pacific Railway except such line as shall run south-west, or to the westward of south-west, nor to within fifteen miles of latitude 49. And in the establishment of any new Province in the North West Territories, provision shall be made for continuing such prohibition after such establishment until the expiration of the said period.

16. The Canadian Pacific Railway, and all stations and station grounds, work-shops, buildings, yards and other property, rolling stock and appurtenances required and used for the construction and working thereof, and the capital stock of the company, shall be forever free from taxation by the Dominion, or by any Province hereafter to be established, or by any Municipal Corporation therein, and the lands of the Company, in the North-West Territories, until they are either sold or occupied, shall also be free from such taxation for 20 years after the grant thereof from the Crown.

17. The company shall be authorized by their Act of Incorporation to issue bonds, secured upon the land granted and to be granted to the company, containing provisions for the use of such bonds in the acquisition of lands, and such other conditions as the company shall see fit, such issue to be for \$25,000,000. And should the company make such issue of land grant bonds, then they shall deposit them in the hands of the Government; and the Government shall retain and hold one-fifth of such bonds as security for the due performance of the present contract in respect of the maintenance and continuous working of the railway by the company, as herein agreed, for ten years after the completion thereof, and the remaining \$20,000,000 of such bonds shall be dealt with as hereinafter provided. And as to the said one-fifth of the said bonds, so long as no default shall occur in the maintenance and working of the said Canadian Pacific Railway, the Government shall not present or demand payment of the coupons of such bonds, nor require payment of any interest thereon. And if any of such bonds so to be retained by the Government shall be paid off in the manner to be provided for the extinction of the whole issue thereof, the Government shall hold the amount received in payment thereof as security for the same purposes as the bonds so paid off, paying interest thereon at four cent. per annum so long as default is not made by the company in the performance of the conditions hereof. And at the end of the said period of ten years from the completion of the said railway, if no default shall then have occurred in such maintenance and working thereof, the said bonds, or if any of the bonds shall then have been paid off, the remainder of said bonds and the money received for those paid off, with accrued interest, shall be delivered back by the Government to the Company with all the coupons attached to such bonds. But if such default should occur, the Government may thereafter require payment of interest on the bonds so held, and shall not be obliged to continue to pay interest on the money representing bonds paid off; and while the Government shall retain the right to hold the said portion of the said land grant bonds, other securities satisfactory to the Government may be substituted for them by the company by agreement with the Government.

18. If the company shall find it necessary or expedient to sell the remaining \$20,000,000 of the land grant bonds, or a larger portion thereof than in the proportion of one dollar for each acre of land then earned by the company, they shall be allowed to do so, but the proceeds thereof, over and above the amount to which the company shall be entitled as herein provided, shall be deposited with the Government. And the Government shall pay interest upon such deposit half yearly, at the rate of four per cent. per annum, and shall pay over the amount of such deposit to the company from time to time as the work proceeds, in the same proportions, and at the same times and upon the same conditions as the land grant—that is to say: the company shall be entitled to receive from the Government out of the proceeds of the said land grant bonds, the same number of dollars as the number of acres of the land subsidy which shall then have been earned by them. less one-fifth thereof, that is to say, if the bonds are sold at par, but if they are sold at less than par, then a deduction shall be made therefrom corresponding to the discount at which such bonds are sold. And such land grant shall be conveyed to them by the Government, subject to the charge created as security for the said land grant bonds, and shall remain subject to such charge till relieved thereof in such manner as shall be provided for at the time of the issue of such bonds.

19. The company shall pay any expenses which shall be incurred by the Government in carrying out the provisions of the two last preceding clauses of this contract.

20. If the company should not issue such land grant bonds, then the Government shall retain from out of each grant to be made from time to time, every fifth section of the lands hereby agreed to be granted, such lands to be so retained as security for the purposes, and for the length of time, mentioned in section eighteen hereof. And such lands may be sold in such manner and at such prices as shall be agreed upon between the Government and the company, and in that case the price thereof shall be paid to, and held by the Government for the same period, and for the same purposes as the land itself, the Government paying four per cent. per annum interest thereon. And other securities satisfactory to the Government may be substituted for such lands or money by agreement with the Government.

21. The company to be incorporated, with sufficient powers to enable them to carry out the foregoing contract, and this contract shall only be binding in the event of an Act of Incorporation being granted to the company in the form hereby appended as Schedule A.

22. The Railway Act of 1879, in so far as the provisions of the same are applicable to the undertaking referred to in this contract, and in so far as they are not inconsistent herewith or inconsistent with or contrary to the

provisions of the Act of Incorporation to be granted to the company, shall apply to the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In witness whereof the parties hereto have executed these presents at the City of Ottawa, this twenty-first day of October, 1880.

(Signed) CHARLES TUPPER,  
*Minister of Railways & Canals.*  
 " GEO. STEPHEN.  
 " DUNCAN MCINTYRE,  
 " J. S. KENNEDY,  
 " R. B. ANGUS,  
 " J. J. HILL,  
*Per pro. Geo. Stephen.*  
 " MORTON, ROSE & Co.,  
 " KOHN, REINACH & Co.,  
*By P. Du P. Grenfell.*

Signed in presence of F. BRAUN,  
 and Seal of the Department  
 hereto affixed by Sir CHARLES  
 TUPPER, in presence of

(Signed) F. BRAUN.

## NO. 2.

### REPORT OF THE DECISION OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE ON THE MANITOBA SCHOOL CASE.

(*London Times.*)

Present :—THE LORD CHANCELLOR, LORD WATSON, LORD MACNAGHTEN AND LORD SHAND.

BROPHY AND OTHERS VS. THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF MANITOBA.

This was an appeal from a judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada, of the 20th February, 1894, upon a case referred to them by the Governor-General-in-Council, pursuant to the provisions of the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Acts.

The Hon. Edward Blake, Q.C., and Mr. J. S. Ewart, Q.C., (both of the Canadian Bar), appeared for the Appellants; Mr. Cozens-Hardy, Q.C., Mr. Haldane, Q.C., and Mr. Bray for the Respondent.

The arguments were heard prior to the Christmas vacation, when judgment was reserved.

The Lord Chancellor, in now delivering their Lordships' judgment, said, in 1890 two acts were passed by the Legislature of Manitoba, relating to education. One of these created a Department of Education and an Advisory Board. The Board was to consist of seven members, four of whom were to be appointed by the Board of Education, two to be elected by the public and high school teachers of the Province, and one to be appointed by the University Council. The Advisory Board were empowered, among other things, to authorize text-books for the use of pupils, and to prescribe the form of religious exercises to be used in schools. The other act, which was termed "The Public Schools Act," established a system of public education "entirely non-sectarian," no religious exercises being allowed except those conducted according to the regulations of the Advisory Board. The act came into force on the 1st May, 1890. By virtue of its provisions, by-laws were made by the municipal corporation of Winnipeg, under which a rate was to be levied upon Protestant and Roman Catholic ratepayers alike for school purposes. An application was thereupon made to the Court of the Queen's Bench of Manitoba to quash those by-laws, on the ground that the Public Schools Act, 1890, was *ultra vires* of the Provincial Legislature, inasmuch as it prejudicially affected a right of privilege with respect to denominational schools, which the Roman Catholics had by law or practice in the Province at the union. The Court of Queen's Bench refused the application, being of opinion that the act was *intra vires*. The Supreme Court of Canada took a different view, but upon appeal the Judicial Committee reversed their decision and restored the judgment of the Court of the Queen's Bench. Memorials and petitions were afterwards presented to the Governor-General-in-Council on behalf of the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba, by way of appeal against the Education Acts of 1890. Those memorials and petitions having been taken into consideration, a case in relation thereto was, in pursuance of the provisions of the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act, referred by the Governor-General-in-Council to the Supreme Court of Canada. The questions referred for hearing and consideration were the following:—“(1) Is the appeal, referred to in the said memorials and petitions, and asserted thereby, such an appeal as is admissible by sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, or by sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 33 Victoria (1870), chapter 3, Canada? (2) Are the grounds set forth in the petitions and memorials such as may be the subject of appeal under the authority of the sub-sections above referred to, or either of them? (3) Does the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the cases of ‘Barrett v. the City of Winnipeg,’ and ‘Logan v. the City of Winnipeg,’ dispose of or conclude

the application for redress, based on the contention that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority, which accrued to them after the union under the statutes of the Province, had been interfered with by the two statutes of 1890, complained of in the said petitions and memorials? (4) Does sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, apply to Manitoba? (5) Has His Excellency, the Governor-General-in-Council, power to make the declaration or remedial orders which are asked for in the said memorials and petitions, assuming the material facts to be as stated therein, or has His Excellency, the Governor-General-in-Council, any other jurisdiction in the premises? (6) Did the acts of Manitoba, relating to education, passed prior to the session of 1890, confer on or continue to the minority a 'right or privilege in relation to education' within the meaning of sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, or establish a system of separate or dissentient schools within the meaning of sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, if the said section 93 be found to be applicable to Manitoba; and, if so, did the two acts of 1890 complained of, or either of them, affect any right or privilege of the minority in such a manner that an appeal will lie thereunder to the Governor-General-in-Council?" The judges of the Supreme Court were divided in opinion upon each of the questions submitted. They were all, however, by a majority of three judges out of five, answered in the negative. The appeal to the Governor General-in-Council was founded upon the 22nd section of the Manitoba Act, 1870, and the 93rd section of the British North America Act, 1867. By the former of those statutes (which was confirmed and declared to be valid and effectual by an Imperial statute) Manitoba was created a Province of the Dominion. The 2nd section of the Manitoba Act enacts, that after the prescribed day the British North America Act shall, "except those parts thereof, which are in terms made or by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to, or only to affect one or more but not the whole of the provinces now composing the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of Manitoba had been one of the provinces originally united by the said act." It could not be questioned, therefore, that section 93 of the British North America Act (save such parts of it as were specially applicable to some only of the provinces of which the Dominion was in 1870 composed) was made applicable to the Province of Manitoba, except in so far as it was varied by the Manitoba Act. The 22nd section of that statute dealt with the same subject matter as section 93 of the British North America Act. The 2nd sub-section of that latter section might be discarded from consideration, as it was manifestly applicable only to the Provinces of Ontario and

Quebec. The remaining provisions closely corresponded with those of section 22 of the Manitoba Act. There were a few differences, but it appeared to their Lordships impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the 22nd section of the Manitoba Act was intended to be a substitute for the 93rd section of the British North America Act. Obviously all that was intended to be identical had been repeated, and in so far as the provisions of the Manitoba Act differed from those of the earlier statute they must be regarded as indicating the variations from those provisions intended to be introduced in the Province of Manitoba. In their Lordships' opinion, therefore, it was the 22nd section of the Manitoba Act which had to be construed in the present case, though it was, of course legitimate to consider the terms of the earlier act, and to take advantage of any assistance they might afford in the construction of enactments with which they so closely correspond, and which had been substituted for them. Before entering upon a critical examination of the important section of the Manitoba Act, it would be convenient to state the circumstances in which the act was passed, and also the exact scope of the decision of the Judicial Committee in the case of "*Barrett v. the City of Winnipeg*," which seemed to have given rise to some misapprehension.

In 1867 the union of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick took place. Among the obstacles which had to be overcome, in order to bring about that union, none perhaps presented greater difficulty than the difference of opinion which existed with regard to the question of education. It had been the subject of much controversy in Upper and Lower Canada. In Upper Canada a general system of undenominational education had been established, but with provision for separate schools, to supply the wants of the Catholic inhabitants of that Province. The 2nd sub-section of section 93 of the British North America Act extended all the powers, privileges and duties which were then by law conferred and imposed, in Upper Canada, on the separate schools and school trustees of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that Province to the dissentient schools of the Protestant and Roman Catholic inhabitants of Quebec. There could be no doubt that the views of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Quebec and Ontario, with regard to education, were shared by the members of the same communion in the territory which afterwards became the Province of Manitoba. They regarded it as essential that the education of their children should be in accordance with the teaching of their church, and considered that such an education could not be obtained in public schools designed for all the members of the community alike, whatever their creed, but could only be secured in schools conducted under the influence and guidance of the authorities of their church. When the Province of Manitoba became part of the Dominion of Canada, the Roman Catholic and Protestant population in the Province were about

equal in number Prior to that, there did not exist in the territory then incorporated, any public system of education. The several religious denominations had established such schools as they thought fit, and maintained them by funds voluntarily contributed by the members of their own communion. None received any state aid. The terms upon which Manitoba was to become a Province of the Dominion, were a matter of negotiation between representatives of the inhabitants of Manitoba and of the Dominion Government. The terms agreed upon, so far as education was concerned, must be taken to be embodied in the 22nd section of the Act of 1870. Among the first measures passed by the Legislature of Manitoba, was an act to establish a system of education in the Province. The system established was distinctly denominational, and, with some modifications of the original scheme, remained in force until it was put an end to by the acts which had given rise to the present controversy. In Barrett's case, the sole question raised was whether the Public Schools Act, 1890, prejudicially affected any right or privilege which the Roman Catholics, by law or practice, had in the Province at the union? Their Lordships arrived at the conclusion that that question must be answered in the negative. The only right or privilege which the Roman Catholics then possessed, either by law or in practice, was the right or privilege of establishing and maintaining for the use of members of their own church such schools as they pleased. It appeared to their Lordships that that right or privilege remained untouched, and therefore could not be said to be affected by the legislation of 1890. It was not doubted that the object of the first sub-section of section 22 was to afford protection to denominational schools, or that it was proper to have regard to the intent of the Legislature, and the surrounding circumstances, in interpreting the enactment. But the question which had to be determined was the true construction of the language used. The function of a tribunal was limited to construing the words employed; it was not justified in forcing into them a meaning which they could not reasonably bear. Its duty was to interpret not to enact. It was true that the construction put by the Board upon the first sub-section reduced, within very narrow limits, the protection afforded by that sub-section, in respect of denominational schools. It might be that those who were acting on behalf of the Roman Catholic community in Manitoba, and those who either framed or assented to the wording of the enactment, were under the impression that its scope was wider, and that it afforded protection greater than their Lordships held to be the case. But such considerations could not properly influence the judgment of those who had judicially to interpret a statute. The question was not what might be supposed to have been intended, but what had been said? More complete effect might, in some cases, be given to the intentions of the Legislature if violence were done to the language

in which their legislation had taken shape, but such a course would, on the whole, be quite as likely to defeat as to further the object which was in view. While, however, it was necessary to resist any temptation to deviate from sound rules of construction, in the hope of more completely satisfying the intent of the Legislature, it was quite legitimate where more than one construction of a statute was possible, to select that one which would best carry out what appeared from the general scope of the legislation, and the surrounding circumstances, to have been its intention. Their Lordships concurred with the majority of the Supreme Court, in thinking that the main issues were not in any way concluded, either by the decision in *Barrett's case* or by any principles involved in that decision. Having referred, in detail, to a consideration of the terms of the second and third sub-sections of section 22 of the Act of 1870, upon the construction of which the questions submitted chiefly depended, their Lordships thought that these sub-sections did not operate to withdraw such a question, as that involved in the case, from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals of the country. It was hardly necessary to point out how improbable it was that it should have been intended to give a concurrent remedy by appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council, for the inconveniences and difficulties likely to arise, if that double remedy were open, were obvious. The second sub-section ought not to be construed as giving, to parties aggrieved, an appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council concurrently with the right to resort to the courts in case the provisions of the first sub-section were contravened, unless no other construction of the sub sections be reasonably possible. The nature of the remedy, too, which the third sub-section provided for enforcing the decision of the Governor-General strongly confirmed that view. That remedy was either a provincial law, or a law passed by the Canadian Parliament. In their Lordships' opinion, the second sub-section was a substantive enactment, and was not designed merely as a means of enforcing the provision which preceded it. The question then arose, did the sub-section extend to rights and privileges acquired by legislation subsequent to the union? It extended in terms to "any" right or privilege of the minority affected by an act passed by the Legislature, and would, therefore, seem to embrace all rights and privileges existing at the time when such act was passed. Their Lordships saw no justification for putting a limitation on language thus unlimited. There was nothing in the surrounding circumstances, or in the apparent intention of the Legislature, to warrant any such limitation. Quite the contrary. Their Lordships being of opinion that the enactment, which governed the present case, was the 22nd section of the *Manitoba Act*, it was unnecessary to refer, at any length, to the arguments derived from the provisions of section 93 of the *British North America Act*. But, in so far as they threw light on the matter, they did not,

in their Lordships' opinion, weaken, but rather strengthened the views derived from a study of the later enactment. It was admitted that the third and fourth sub-sections of section 93 were not intended to have effect merely when a Provincial Legislature had exceeded the limit imposed on its powers by sub-section 1, for sub-section 3 gave an appeal to the Governor-General, not only where a system of separate or dissentient schools existed in a province at the time of the union, but also where, in any province, such a system was "thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province." It was manifest that that related to a state of things created by post-union legislation. It was said it referred only to acts or decisions of a "provincial authority," and not to acts of a Provincial Legislature. It was unnecessary to determine that point, but their Lordships must express their dissent from the argument that the insertion of the words "of the Legislature of the Province" in the Manitoba Act showed that, in the British North America Act, it could not have been intended to comprehend the legislatures under the words "any provincial authority." It was argued, that the omission from the second sub-section of the Manitoba Act, of any reference to a system of separate or dissentient schools "thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province" was unfavorable to the contention of the Appellants, and that argument met with some favor in the court below, but the terms of the critical sub-section of the act were quite general, and not made subject to any condition or limitation. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was much impressed by the consideration that there was an inherent right in a legislature to repeal its own legislative acts, and that "every presumption must be made in favor of the constitutional right of a legislative body to repeal the laws which it has itself enacted." He laid down, as a maxim of constitutional construction, that an inherent right to do so could not be deemed to be withheld from a legislative body having its origin in a written constitution, unless the constitution, in express words, took away the right, and he stated it as his opinion that, in construing the Manitoba Act, the court ought to proceed on that principle, and to hold the Legislature of that Province to have absolute powers over its own legislation, untrammelled by any appeal to Federal authority, unless it could find some restriction of its rights in that respect, in express terms in the Constitutional Act. Their Lordships were unable to concur in the view that there was any presumption which ought to influence the mind one way or the other. It must be remembered that the Provincial Legislature was not in all respects supreme within the Province. Its legislative power was strictly limited. It could only deal with matters declared to be within its cognizance by the British North America Act as varied by the Manitoba Act. In all other cases legislative authority rested with the Dominion Parliament. Education was separately dealt with, and had its own

code both in the British North America Act and the Manitoba Act. It might be said to be anomalous that such a restriction should be imposed on the free action of the Legislature, but was it more anomalous than to grant to a minority, who were aggrieved by legislation, an appeal from the Legislature to the executive authority? And yet that right was expressly and beyond all controversy conferred. If, on the natural construction of the language used, it should appear that an appeal was permitted in circumstances involving a fetter upon the power of a Provincial Legislature to repeal its own enactments, their Lordships saw no justification for a leaning against that contention, nor did they think that it made any difference whether the fetter was imposed by express words or by necessary implication. In truth, however, to determine that an appeal lay to the Governor-General-in-Council in such a case as the present, did not involve the proposition that the Provincial Legislature was unable to repeal the laws it had passed. Bearing in mind the circumstances which existed in 1870, it did not appear to their Lordships an extravagant notion that, in creating a Legislature for the Province with limited powers, it should have been thought expedient, in case either Catholics or Protestants became preponderant, and rights, which had come into existence under different circumstances, were interfered with, to give the Dominion Parliament power to legislate on matters of education, so far as was necessary to protect the Protestant or Catholic minority, as the case might be. Taking it, then, to be established that the second sub section of section 22 of the Manitoba Act extended to rights and privileges of the Roman Catholic minority, acquired by legislation in the Province after the union, the next question was whether any such right or privilege has been affected by the acts of 1890? Having referred to that point in some detail, their Lordships said the sole question to be determined was whether a right or privilege, which the Roman Catholic minority had previously enjoyed, had been affected by the legislation of 1890. Their Lordships were unable to see how that question could receive any but an affirmative answer. Contrast the position of the Roman Catholics prior and subsequent to the acts from which they appealed. Before those passed into law, there existed denominational schools, of which the control and management were in the hands of Roman Catholics, who could select the books to be used and determine the character of the religious teaching. Those schools received their proportionate share of the money contributed for school purposes out of the general taxation of the province; and the money raised for those purposes by local assessment was, so far as it fell upon Catholics, applied only towards the support of Catholic schools. What was the position of the Roman Catholic minority under the acts of 1890? Schools of their own denomination, conducted according to their views, would receive no aid from the state. They must depend entirely for their support

upon the contributions of the Roman Catholic community, while the taxes out of which state aid was granted to the schools provided for by the statute fell alike on Catholics and Protestants. Moreover, while the Catholic inhabitants remained liable to local assessment for school purposes, the proceeds of that assessment were no longer destined, to any extent, for the support of Catholic schools, but afforded the means of maintaining schools which they regarded as no more suitable for the education of Catholic children than if they were distinctly Protestant in their character. In view of that comparison, it did not seem possible to say that the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholic minority, in relation to education, which existed prior to 1890, had not been affected. For the reasons which had been given, their Lordships were of the opinion that the second sub-section, of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, was the governing enactment, and that the appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council was admissible by virtue of that enactment, on the grounds set forth in the memorials and petitions, inasmuch as the acts of 1890 affected rights or privileges of the Roman Catholic minority, in relation to education, within the meaning of that sub-section. The further question was submitted whether the Governor-General-in-Council had power to make declarations or remedial orders asked for in the memorials or petitions, or had any other jurisdiction in the premises. Their Lordships had decided that the Governor-General-in-Council had jurisdiction, and that the appeal was well founded, but the particular course to be pursued must be determined by the authorities to whom it had been committed by the statute. It was not for their Lordships to intimate the precise steps to be taken. Their general character was sufficiently defined by the third sub-section of section 22 of the Manitoba Act. It was certainly not essential that the statutes repealed by the Act of 1890 should be re-enacted, or that the precise provisions of these statutes should again be made law. The system of education embodied in the acts of 1890 no doubt commended itself to, and adequately supplied, the wants of the great majority of the inhabitants of the Province. All legitimate ground of complaint would be removed if that system were supplemented by provisions which would remove the grievance on which the appeal was founded, and were modified so far as might be necessary to give effect to those provisions. Their Lordships would humbly advise Her Majesty that the questions submitted should be answered in the manner indicated by the views which they had expressed. There would be no costs of the appeal<sup>1</sup>.



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